



CORNELL  
UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY

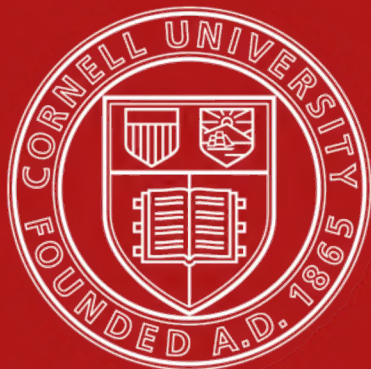


Cornell University Library  
DT 73.S3Q6 1907-08

Excavations at Saqqara. 1907-1908.



3 1924 028 671 265 ebn,ovv2



Cornell University  
Library

The original of this book is in  
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in  
the United States on the use of the text.

<http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924028671265>

# EXCAVATIONS AT SAQQARA

(1907-1908)





FRONTISPIECE



*Imp. Berthaud.*

SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTÉ

---

# EXCAVATIONS AT SAQQARA

(1907-1908)

BY

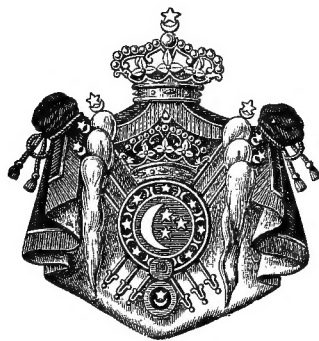
J. E. QUIBELL

WITH SECTIONS BY

SIR HERBERT THOMPSON, BART.

AND

PROF. W. SPIEGELBERG



LE CAIRE

IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS

D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

---

1909

FS





## INTRODUCTION.

---

The excavations of this season began on September 7<sup>th</sup> 1907, at the monastery of Saint Jeremias, and it was the discovery of the church there with the great series of capitals, carved blocks and inscriptions that made the main interest of the year. But this was not the only site attacked. The monastery is not far from the Step Pyramid, and it seemed economical of time to make a trial there too, so a considerable area to the east of the pyramid was cleared and the casing of the lowest step discovered; a part of the temenos wall was also examined and found to be covered with a casing wall of fine limestone of a recessed pattern.

The temple of the Teta pyramid besides, which had been started before, had to be continued as far as time and money permitted; and finally the search for mastabas for sale to foreign museums forced us to clear, at least partially, a whole series of tombs which would otherwise have been left to a future opportunity.

The Coptic results were by so much the most important that more time was given to the monastery than to the other sites and more space is required for them in the report.

We have called it the monastery of Saint Jeremias; the attribution, due originally to M. Maspero<sup>(1)</sup>, will not now be doubted; the position of the saint by the side of the Virgin in the paintings, the mention of his name first in the invocations on grave-stones, and the commemoration in one room by an inscription of the fact that he used to sit there, form a cumulative and adequate proof.

This enables us to give a probable date for the foundation of the monastery, for in the history of John of Nikiou, Jeremias and Anastasius appear as contemporaries. The passage is so important for the study of this building, that it is reprinted here from Zotenberg's translation<sup>(2)</sup>.

Le pieux empereur Zénon étant mort, Anastase, l'empereur chrétien qui vivait dans la crainte de Dieu, lui succéda sur le trône : c'était l'un des chambellans de l'empereur, qui, par la grâce

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ann. Serv.* (1902), III, p. 186; cf. also *Ann. Serv.*, VIII, p. 93.

<sup>(2)</sup> ZOTENBERG, *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou*, Paris, 1883, p. 368, chap. LXXXVIII.

de Dieu et par l'effet des prières de nos pères égyptiens, devint empereur. En effet, l'empereur Zénon l'avait exilé dans l'île de Saint-Iraï, située dans le fleuve de Menouf. Les habitants de la ville de Menouf, par humanité, le traitaient avec bonté. Amonios, de la ville de Hezênâ dans la province d'Alexandrie et les habitants de cette ville, se liaient d'amitié avec lui, l'honoraient et lui témoignaient une grande affection. Or, un jour les gens de Menouf et ceux de Hezênâ convinrent, comme Anastase était en disgrâce auprès de l'empereur Zénon, de monter à son intention sur la hauteur au couvent du saint théophore Abba Jérémie, d'Alexandrie. En effet, sur le territoire de ces deux villes demeurait un homme qui avait été favorisé par Dieu de la connaissance de toutes choses. Ils parlaient de la sainte vie de cet homme de Dieu; ils voulaient être bénis par lui et désiraient qu'il priât pour eux le Christ, son maître. Ils se rendirent donc à la demeure d'Abba Jérémie, l'homme de Dieu, qui les bénit tous, mais n'adressa aucune parole à Anastase. Celui-ci, au moment où tous partirent, fut très affligé; il pleurait amèrement, disant en lui-même : « C'est à cause de mes nombreux péchés que l'homme de Dieu en bénissant tous m'a refusé sa bénédiction ». Les gens de Menouf et Amonios, de la ville de Hezênâ, retournèrent auprès du saint homme de Dieu et lui firent part du chagrin d'Anastase. Abba Jérémie l'appela, le prit à part avec ses amis fidèles et avec Amonios et lui dit : « Ne t'affliges pas, en croyant et disant : « C'est à cause de mes péchés que ce vieillard ne m'a pas béni ». Il n'en est pas ainsi; au contraire, je me suis abstenu de te bénir, parce que j'ai vu la main de Dieu sur toi. Comment oserais-je, moi qui commets tant de péchés, bénir celui qui est béni et honoré par Dieu? Dieu t'a choisi entre des milliers pour être son oint : car la main de Dieu, le Seigneur, est marquée sur la tête des rois; et il a mis sa confiance en toi pour que tu sois son lieutenant sur la terre, afin que tu protèges son peuple. Seulement, quand tu te rappelleras mes paroles et que tu auras réalisé la prophétie, exécute fidèlement le mandat que je te donne aujourd'hui, afin que Dieu te sauve de tes ennemis, à savoir : ne commets aucun péché, n'entreprends rien contre la religion chrétienne, la religion de Jésus-Christ, et n'adopte point la foi chalcédonienne, qui offense Dieu. » Or, ces recommandations qu'Abba Jérémie donna à Anastase, celui-ci les reçut et les grava sur les parois de son cœur, ainsi que Moïse le prophète reçut de Dieu les tables de l'alliance sur lesquelles étaient gravés les commandements de la loi. Quelque temps après, Anastase fut rappelé de l'exil auquel l'avait condamné l'empereur de cette terre en vertu de son pouvoir, puis il fut nommé empereur. Lorsqu'il fut sur le trône, il envoya un message aux disciples du saint abbé Jérémie et les fit venir auprès de lui. Parmi eux se trouvait Abba Vâryânôs, qui était parent d'Abba Jérémie. Or, l'empereur leur demanda avec instance d'accepter de lui des provisions pour la route et pour le monastère; mais ils refusèrent, leur père saint Jérémie leur ayant défendu d'accepter aucun objet, si ce n'est de l'encens pour célébrer la messe et pour offrir le sacrifice et quelques objets sacrés. Anastase envoya aussi des gens dans l'île dans laquelle il avait été autrefois exilé et fit construire par eux une grande et superbe église, consacrée à saint Iraï; c'était auparavant une petite église. Il y fit porter beaucoup de vases d'or et d'argent; à ses amis de Menouf et de Hezênâ, leur conféra des magistratures et fit entrer quelques-uns d'entre eux dans le clergé.

John of Nikiou wrote about 630 A. D. It is clear that he believed Jeremias to have

lived in the time of Anastasius. Now Anastasius reigned 491-518, so the saint must have lived in the second half of the v<sup>th</sup> century, and the monastery was probably founded about 470 A. D. No evidence has been found seriously to contradict this view. Some of the paintings, it is true, seem rather better in style and to retain more freedom in drawing than one would have expected at so late a date. And it must not be forgotten that it is possible, if not very likely, that a monastery had existed before the time of Jeremias, and that he received the honours of the founder from his great services or remarkable character and that the original founder was forgotten. On the present evidence, however, we may assume that the foundation of the monastery and the earliest buildings that remain date from about 470 A. D. Some of the brick structures probably go back to this early date and so do the earliest parts of the church, the earlier apse, the marble bases, perhaps some of the limestone capitals, as those of the north aisle.

But this church was destroyed, probably not very long after the Arab conquest, and before its destruction it had suffered from mutilation of the sculptures; the figures of men and animals had been carefully chiselled out; the order probably came from the Muslim ruler, but the work was executed by Christian workmen who did as little damage to the reliefs as possible.

The church was rebuilt, at what date we cannot yet say, but before 800 A. D., and the final ruin seems to have come in the x<sup>th</sup> century. But more evidence on these points was found in the subsequent digging and will be published in a future report.

The existence of a monastery of Saint Jeremias in the neighbourhood of Memphis has long been known.

The earliest mention of it is probably not very long after its foundation. It is mentioned in the itinerary of Theodosius A. D. c. 520-530 : « Item in Aegypto est civitas Memphis . . . . ibi sunt duo monasteria, unum est religionis Vandalorum sancti Hieremiae, Romanorum sancti Apollonii eremitae », quoted by Krall (*Corp. Pap. Rainer*, II, p. 79), who remarks on the word *Vandalorum*, « der Autor wirft die Monophysiten mit den Arianern zusammen ».

John of Nikiou, c. 630, mentions it (*v. supra*) and Ṣafī al dīn ‘Abd al mumin († 739), says of it : دِيرِ هِرْمَسِ يَضُمُّ بِمَنْفٍ مِنْ أَرْضِ مِصْرَ وَعِنْدَهُ هَرَمٌ.

This reference I owe to Prof. Moritz.

It is mentioned again by Ibn Abdelhakem, who died A. H. 268 = A. D. 881-882, see Stern in *A. Z.*, XXIII (1885), p. 148; Abu Salih, c. A. D. 1200 (f° 68 a, ed. Evetts) seems only to copy Ibn Abdelhakem. Probably the ruins were already buried.

Interest in it was revived in 1873, when Revillout read a paper on certain documents in the Louvre at the Oriental Congress at Paris in that year (*Actes du Congrès internat. orient.*, 1873, II, p. 471 et seq.; III, p. 55 et seq.), which are mostly requests made by monks to the head of the monastery to grant passports supported by guarantees to certain persons named. He published them in full in his *Papyrus coptes, Actes et Contrats*, 1876.

To those published by Revillout, Krall added in 1885 four more documents (at Berlin) relating to the monastery, two of them being passports (*Rec. tr.*, VI, p. 63 et seq.). Silvestre de Sacy (*Journ. des Savants*, 1825, p. 463) had long ago published two Arabic passports written on papyrus (see STERN, *A. Z.*, u. s., p. 147). All the Coptic documents belong evidently to one and the same period and are dated by Stern about the first half of the VIII<sup>th</sup> century (u. s., p. 155).

A letter probably written by an inmate of the monastery has been published by Maspero in *Ann. Serv.*, III, p. 185. He dates it in the VI<sup>th</sup> or VII<sup>th</sup> century.

Now that there can be no doubt that the site is the monastery of Saint Jeremias, we can with confidence refer to it a number of monuments scattered in various museums, chiefly stelæ. I owe the following list to Sir H. Thompson :

MUSEUM.	NAME OF DECEASED.	PUBLICATIONS.
Cairo.....	Sarapion.....	GAYET, <i>M. A. F.</i> , III, p. 26, n° 3; CRUM, <i>Copt. Mon.</i> (Cairo Cat.), n° 8324.
— .....	Apollo.....	GAYET, <i>op. cit.</i> , III, p. 27, n° 6; CRUM, <i>op. cit.</i> , n° 8547.
— .....	(Lost).....	GAYET, <i>op. cit.</i> , III, n° 41.
— .....	Macare the gardener.....	— — III, p. 30, n° 45; CRUM, <i>op. cit.</i> , n° 8326.
— .....	Jeremias Pesouu.....	GAYET, <i>op. cit.</i> , III, p. 30, n° 49.
— .....	Apa Zacharias, etc.....	— — III, p. 30, n° 50; CRUM, <i>op. cit.</i> , n° 8320.
— .....	Apa Jeremias.....	BOURIANT, <i>Rec. tr.</i> , V, p. 63, n° 3; CRUM, <i>op. cit.</i> , n° 8319.

MUSEUM.	NAME OF DECEASED.	PUBLICATIONS.
Cairo . . . . .	Phœbammon . . . . .	BIONDI, <i>Ann. Serv.</i> , VIII, p. 93, n° 23.
— . . . . .	(Lost) . . . . .	— — — n° 24.
— . . . . .	Joseph Mena . . . . .	— — — n° 25.
— . . . . .	Nishteroou, the deuterarius. — — —	p. 94, n° 26.
— . . . . .	(Lost) . . . . .	— — — n° 27.
— . . . . .	— . . . . .	— — — n° 28.
Alexandria. 275.	— . . . . .	<i>Rev. l'Orient chrétien</i> , X, p. 252.
— 289.	ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ and ΠΕΤΡΕ . . . . .	— — — p. 251.
— 280.	ΚΛΟΥCΑΝΕ . . . . .	MALLON, <i>Gramm. copte</i> , p. 132.
Vatican . . . . .	Elias, etc. . . . .	STERN, <i>A. Z.</i> , XVI, 1878, p. 25; REVILLOUT, <i>Rev. ég.</i> , IV, 1885, p. 10; MARRUCHI, <i>Mus. egiz. Vat.</i> , 1899, p. 314.
British Museum..	Phœbammon . . . . .	HALL, <i>Coptic and Greek Texts</i> , p. 5.
— ..	Abeg, etc. . . . .	— — — p. 9.
— ..	Apa Hor, etc. . . . .	— — — p. 145.
Berlin . . . . .	Abraham, etc. . . . .	STERN, <i>A. Z.</i> , XVI, 1878, p. 26; <i>Berlin Ausführl. Verz.</i> , p. 385 (transl. only).
Collect. Amherst.	Papa Anoup . . . . .	BIRCH, <i>A. Z.</i> , X, 1872, p. 121; REVILLOUT, <i>Rev. ég.</i> , IV, p. 9.
— .	Al(?) . . . . .	REVILLOUT, <i>Rev. ég.</i> , IV, p. 8, n° 12.
Bologna (Greek).	George . . . . .	LEFEBVRE, <i>Inscr. gr.-chrét.</i> , n° 662 (bibl. ibid.).
(?) . . . . .	Dioscoros (?) . . . . .	WINSTEDT, <i>P. S. B. A.</i> , XXIX, p. 322.

There is also a wooden fragment with part of the usual invocation list including Apa Jeremias (Greek) in the Musée de Périgueux (said to be from Ashmunein), published by CLÉDAT, *Bull. Inst. fr.*, II, p. 70, and LEFEBVRE, *Rec. d'inscr. gr.-chrét.*, n° 228.

Our Apa Jeremias is occasionally invoked elsewhere (e. g. HALL, *u. s.*, p. 144); but on the other hand, the David described as the painter ΜΠΙΜΑ ΝΑΠΙΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑC (*Bull. Inst. fr.*, V, p. 13), and the *Pshoi of Jeremias* (STRZYGOWSKI, *Catal. génér. du Musée du Caire, Kopt. Kunst*, p. 120), both at Bawît, refer more likely to a monastery of Apa Jeremias situated a little south of Antinoe (*Corp. Pap. Rain.*, II, n° LXXXVI) and therefore nearly opposite Bawît.

I have to express my gratitude for the help given by various friends. That the greater part of the interest of this report is due to the work of Prof. Spiegelberg and

Sir H. Thompson will be obvious to the reader, but the services rendered by them were not confined to the preparation of the pages signed with their names. Both have been most ready in supplying information when asked and one of them (Sir H. T.) also spent some time at Saqqara and took a share in the field work. Mr. Hubert Brown was with me most of the winter and did a lot of planning and photography; Mr. Fitz-Roy Darke made the pen and ink drawings of the two capitals and aided me in plan-making when his official duties allowed. The frontispiece is from a watercolour by my wife.

J. E. Q.

# EXCAVATIONS AT SAQQARA,

## 1907-1908.

---

### MONASTERY OF APA JEREMIAS.

In the previous season a few cells had been cleared (see *Excavations at Saqqara*, 1906-1907) and there seemed good hope of discovering more further to the west; to the east nearly all the ground had been dug over, some of it to surprising depths, by the industrious *sebakhin*. So the rails were laid and two areas, the first just to the west of our old cells and chapel, the other a little to the north, were gradually excavated; between them lay a rather high mound which was left for the time. The sand and brickdust were thrown to the east on the old workings of the *sebakhin* and, later on, to the south, on ground we had previously tested and found unimportant. It is perhaps worth mentioning that most of my predecessors at Saqqara have not employed a railway; their spoilheaps were therefore limited in size by the distance a small boy could carry a basket without dropping too much of its contents, and have a certain recognisable shape, — a mound with one gradual slope up which the boys tramped, the soil in other directions lying steeply at the angle of rest. The wagons of course leave long flat spoilheaps like railway embankments, which will not, as time goes on, improve the landscape but will be recognised easily by the diggers of the future.

A group of rooms to the north of the rails were first cleared, then a branch was pushed south, and on deepening we found ourselves, not in brickdust but in sand, either therefore in a natural depression, an open court of the monastery or in some important building. On October 17<sup>th</sup> we found our first limestone capital which was soon followed by others and it was clear that the site was a building; it was not at first clear that it was a church, and a group of columns still standing outside the main building was puzzling. But proofs accumulated as time went on and we even got a quarry-mark «the church» on a block of the foundations. Now the whole building is cleared it seems strange that its nature can ever have been in doubt, yet there were weeks at the beginning when the learned who inspected the works would by no means commit themselves to a statement that the ruins were or were not those of a church. The first laid track cleared the church and the group of columns to the south of it, then a second road, running south, was used to clear the row of chambers to the west, and three other tracks to the east served to disclose the group of 1706 and the detached complex to the north.

### THE CHURCH.

The general appearance of the church is shown in plates II and III. In them most stones of importance can be seen very near to the positions above which they were found. The sand, the

uninscribed and broken blocks from the walls and a quantity of red bricks have been cleared away, but all stones bearing inscriptions or graffiti or those with any peculiarity in shape that might serve towards the restoration of the plan have been left in place.

When the floor was cleared it was seen that of the north and south walls only a short length remained; the rest of the walls, the whole of the building at the east end and most of the walls of the narthex had been removed. Yet of the mouldings of the arches a great quantity remained and the tale of the capitals must be almost complete. It is plain that the church was finally destroyed by people in search of building stone, who took away first all the squared stones and left the curved and irregular pieces.

The four foundation stones of the building were in place, so the extreme length and breadth of the church with the narthex were readily determined; they are, very closely, 40 metres by 20. (The south-west stone had perhaps been moved a little.)

Though the general lines of the ground plan were easily drawn the further restoration of the church was difficult, for little above the floor level was left in its original state.

The church was basilican in form with two narrow aisles of 3 m. 30 cent. and a nave of very wide span (10 m. 25 cent. clear, 10 m. 80 cent. from centre to centre of the columns) and a returned aisle. The main entrance was from the narthex, a wide door of three bays; there was another on the north, leading to the monastery, and a third on the south side giving access from the covered colonnade or mandara. The internal length from the screen to the west door was 25 m. 50 cent. and the breadth 18 m. 05 cent.

The columns were fairly regularly spaced on the north side; on the south they were more crowded; two at least had been added to the original structure. The material was generally limestone but the two pillars on each side of the west door were of granite and there remained three columns of marble, relics, as we suppose, of the earliest church.

At various points on the floor of the church were the bases of piers(?) of dry masonry into which were built blocks from the walls, bases and even capitals; three of these rough piers are on the central line, the other three in the lines of columns; they are of the rudest construction, and, if they ever formed part of the church can only have been built at a time of great poverty when the roof was threatening to collapse and the monks could raise no funds for water and transport; labour they could always provide, we may suppose. But it is possible that these are only temporary stays or scaffolding, put in by the Arabs who demolished the building.

The floor consisted of a single layer of thin oblong slabs of limestone laid lengthwise to the church and directly on sand. In some places very poor repairs had been carried out, a missing slab being replaced by a rude mosaic formed of bits of other stones, including gravestones from the cemetery close by.

The pavement is for the most part intact but towards the west, in the axis, is a great hole which was dug out at the time of the destruction, for some blocks derived from the walls were found in it. There must have been some reason for the paving to be disturbed just at this spot and it is likely that here was the Epiphany tank.

Another hole had been dug in the north-east corner but west of the haikal; two good capitals were found in this. I can see no reason for its being made unless the Arabs once thought of digging

out a wall on which all the columns rested, made an attempt and then gave up the scheme, deterred by the expense.

Of the walls little but foundations remained; in the west wall the northern half is still three courses high; of the north wall at the west end there is a short length on both sides of the door, and on the south side (pl. II) there is one face of the wall with two pilasters remaining. The position of two other pilasters is shown by the gaps in the footing so the distances could be measured; from centre to centre the pilasters are 2 m. 89 c. apart.

What is left of the walls is enough to show how curiously bad their construction was. The face of a wall is neatly finished; long and short blocks alternate as if they were really bonded and the joints are close; but when we look at a wall in section we see that it is built in two separate faces with little or no bonding, that the space between is filled by a miscellaneous mass of red bricks and limestone chips with a lot of mud mortar, and that the facing blocks are not really bedded fairly on one another; the sides of the blocks are bevelled so that the contact is only along the front edge; behind this the stones gape apart and are wedged up with chips of stone and with mud. This arrangement throws excessive pressure on the front of the block and often causes flakes to shear off.

The capitals were found in the sand at varying but not great heights above the floor — up to one metre. There must have been at least this depth of sand in parts of the church during the last destruction and this fact makes it probable, though not certain, that the building had been abandoned some little time before the quarrying began. The singular variety of types among the capitals must indicate successive restorations. The acanthus capitals in the north row are of one kind (pl. XXIII) though there is considerable variety in their proportions; they are well and simply carved with the chisel, without apparent use of the drill, and are probably older than the vineleaf capitals, in the earliest and best of which the use of the drill is already apparent. They are all however of Toura limestone and were made locally; there were no capitals of marble left, if indeed any had existed. On the south side of the church the capitals were more varied but for the most part of the vineleaf type (pl. XVII-XXI).

The Corinthian capitals were not symmetrically placed; one was near the west end, another

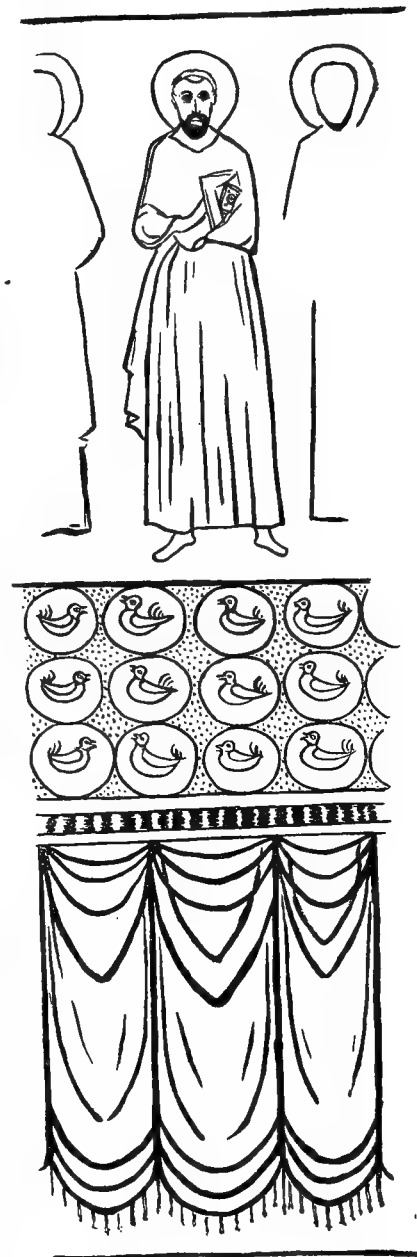


Fig. 1. — Design on a column.

at the east, nor did the position of the three palm and acanthus capitals give any indication of their original arrangement.

Some of the capitals have two vertical slots cut through the ornament, evidently to hold wooden screens; traces of these screens are still to be seen on the floor and are indicated on the plan.

The columns were nearly all of limestone, but two, one on each side of the west door, were of granite and three of marble remained from the earliest church. Two of these were complete, 3 m. 17 cent. and 3 m. 25 cent. in height. All the columns were of the same shape, slightly tapering and with a small necking at the top. Some had a rough chisel-dressed surface and had been plastered and painted; others had a smooth finish on which the painted decoration was laid directly (pl. XI and fig. 1, 2). All those of limestone were broken. Some bore Coptic graffiti incised; on one or two were marks in red ochre made by the Arab destroyers; one of these was the name Rashid.

Most of the bases were of limestone and of the form best seen in plate III above the right side of the stair. Some stood on blocks of wood. Two bore hieroglyphic inscriptions on the side, one of them a cartouche of Nectanebo I<sup>st</sup>. But three were of marble, two of them octagonal (pl. XXIX, 5) and one square, all of much better design and execution than those of limestone. The marble is streaked gray in colour and is certainly foreign, presumably from Asia Minor. It seems that these bases, like everything else of marble, had survived from the ruin of the first church.

Above the capitals there must have been a series of round arches framed in a continuous moulding which ran from the spring of one arch to the next; of this moulding a great number of pieces remain.

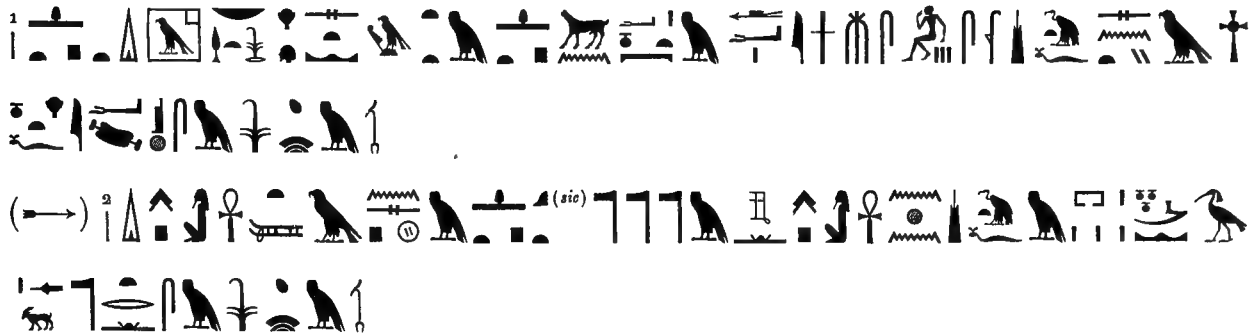
The capitals must also as in other Egyptian churches have been linked one to another by wooden beams; a rude sketch of two arches, faintly drawn on a flake of stone, gave evidence of this.

As to the upper part of the walls little can be said; it may have been built of brick; a considerable quantity of bricks, 5000 at least, were found on the site. It is probable that the smaller capitals with slots come from windows. At the east end there was certainly a window of stained glass.

Of the roof no fragment was recognised with certainty, but the span of the nave is so great that only a framed wooden structure could cover it. That little or nothing of this was found is regrettable but not surprising; the Arabs would take the large beams for scaffolding, the smaller pieces would serve as firewood for the guards and workmen. One heavy plank was found in the mandara and some thin painted boards (pl. XXXIX) were probably used to cover the beams above the capitals.

At the east end is a line of great blocks of alabaster raised 0 m. 15 cent. above the floor and forming a low bench; in the centre and at the south this is well preserved and more detached blocks were found in the hole dug in the floor in the north-east corner; no doubt the bench went right across the church. Across the north end of the part preserved was found an oblong block of dark basalt, the base of a statue, with an inscription of Khaemuas. This stone was not *in situ* but had probably some connection with the bench; it may have been a step into the haikal.

The texts engraved on the sides of this base are as follows :



(Dimensions 1 m. 10 cent. by 0 m. 54 cent. by 0 m. 37 cent.)

The front and upper surfaces of the alabaster are polished and shiny; the back edge (the east side), is dull. It is 0 m. 53 cent. high, so the floor inside the haikal was lower than the floor of the church and the priest must have stepped down to approach the altar; this is surely a unique feature.

Against this matt surface the wooden screen, the hegab, must have been fixed; several fragments of it were found close by (pl. XL, 3, and pl. XXXIX, 6, 7); it will be noticed that the woodwork was rather rough and that there was nothing here like the later mosaics of ivory and wood in the Old Cairo churches.

In this quarter too were found several fragments of a lattice window of plaster with irregular bits of coloured glass stuck on outside; the technique is exactly that of the mosque windows of later centuries and was evidently learnt by the Arabs from the Copts.

Of the floor of the haikal no stone remains in place but a quantity of fragments of marble, 0 m. 05 cent. thick, show what its nature was, and of the plaster foundation below it some part still remains.

To the east of this two curved stones of the apse, painted red, were preserved, enough to enable us to complete the half-circle on the plan. The foundations below them were of the roughest, merely an oblong mass of unburnt brick; and this too had been dug out, doubtless by men searching for treasure below the altar; only a shell of brickwork remained.

But this apse is not the original one; further east and at a lower level (pl. IV) are two courses of solid stone, the remains of foundations of very different quality. Above them, on the north side, a single curved stone from the apse remains; when the centre of the circle was found by trial and the curve continued the red line by which the mason had laid out his work was found on the south side, though all the stones of the wall had gone. (I owe this observation to Sir William Richmond.) We can then be sure of the position and size of the original apse and see that there was space to admit two side chapels, though they would be small, — also that, as is always the case in Egypt, the curve of the apse was not visible outside the church; the east wall was straight.

The space between the east walls of the first and second churches is then in part filled by the foundations of the earlier apse. North and south of these are two stairs of red brick, three steps

high, symmetrically placed. On the floor on which the north one rests were found a large number of the slightly curved stones which must have formed a semidome (pl. XLIII, 1). Here too was the heap of cubes of glass from a mosaic and some fragments of bronze (pl. XLI, 2). Most of the glass lay together in a heap not quite close to the wall; many fragments were scattered over the floor; they appeared to have fallen from a dome rather than from the face of the wall. After being washed they were sorted out into different colours and weighed. The following table gives the weights of the different colours in grammes and shows that the background of the picture was golden.

Opaque cubes, sulphur and greenish-yellow.....	412 gr.
Opaque cubes, cream white and other light tints.....	583
Opaque cubes, grass-green and light blue (semitr.).....	1150
Opaque cubes, red and pink.....	890
Opaque cubes, very dark vague colours.....	150
Transparent cubes, dark-blue.....	541
Transparent cubes, gilt.....	1710

The tesserae are 0 m. 006 mill. to 0 m. 010 mill. in the side, often very irregular in form.

The gilt ones are much better shaped; they are made of amber and bottle-green glass covered with a layer of gold leaf over which a slip of clear glass,  $\frac{1}{3}$  mill. thick, is superposed.



Fig. 2. — From a column.

In the north half of the west wall two courses of stone remain and below them a course of beams of wood; the lower stones had been plastered and where the plaster has fallen away the surface is seen to be blackened and split from the action of fire.

Another result of fire is visible in the state of the bases of the two granite columns, which are worn and rounded. The columns are 3 m. 22 cent. high, the bases 0 m. 50 cent. and 0 m. 55 cent. above the floor. Close to the wall stood a large support for water jars (pl. XXXVIII, 3).

The door into the narthex consists of three bays separated by two columns with simple bases supported on blocks of wood.

#### NARTHEX.

The narthex is divided in three by a wall of brick, evidently a late addition, and by a second wall of stone of which little remains but the foundations; these, however, are as solid as anything in the church. In the north part the external walls remain two courses high; in the south they have nearly disappeared. Of the pavement also but few stones remain. In the middle of the west wall a threshold of granite shows the position and width (1 m. 30 cent.) of the doorway.

In the northernmost of the three divisions a capital was found of palm and acanthus type: in the middle, opposite the church door, was a cylindrical tub of limestone, 0 m. 97 cent. high,

0 m. 97 cent. in exterior diameter and 0 m. 10 cent. thick, lying on its side. Traces of plaster on the outside showed that it had been embedded in masonry up to 0 m. 30 cent. from the mouth; such an object would not be moved far from its original position which was probably just to the north of the entrance, in the angle formed by the cross wall of brick and the outer wall on the west. Near this was a small column of marble, 1 m. 65 cent. long, in section rather a square with rounded corners than a circle. In the southern third of the narthex is a bricklined shaft which is probably Coptic. Of the walls here nothing remained except on the east side a few blocks and in the corner the foundation stone, a large basis of a statue with an inscription in the name of Khaemuas; this, with other blocks of Khaemuas, will appear later. Outside the narthex to the west was a court or passage of irregular shape the other side of which was formed by a heavy wall of complex construction; the western half of it was composed of the side-walls of various cells but these had been thickened, evidently for purposes of defence, and many fine decorated stones, obtained from the ruins of the church, were reused as building material in this outer buttress wall.

#### MANDARA.

This was an L-shaped covered court or platform to the south of the church, on the same level with it and higher than the ground to south and east, from which it was approached by steps (pl. III and V). Here no less than nine columns remained standing, though in the church itself all had been pulled down. We may suppose then that the roof was very light.

The pier of masonry seen on the right in plate V looks as if it belonged to another and earlier structure, but this is not certain; something stouter than the columns may have been needed at this corner. The pier is built externally of masonry tied with two belts of wood work; the inside is of brick. On the north side is an invocation of saints (pl. XLVI, 1) and below is a triangular niche in which a lamp has stood. To the right of the pier in plate V are seen two columns and still further a wall, which the work of the next year showed to belong to a water-tank.

The mandara was paved with slabs similar to those used in the church but had been more repaired and among the blocks used in these repairs were several gravestones (pl. XLIV) dated to the middle of the viii<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the ix<sup>th</sup> centuries. As we cannot suppose that a grave would be robbed for building stone until after 50 years or so from the death of the brother buried in it we see that repairs were going on at any rate as late as 850 A. D.

The mandara was approached from the east by a double stairway (pl. III); the narrow way on the right may have led directly to a gallery for women, but no trace of the upper stair that would be needed was seen.

The roof extended over the stair, for the bases of two columns remain on the side walls. Against one of these leans an oblong stone with a roundel above enclosing a cross; a similar cross must have stood in front of the other base. On one of the stones of the wall below this is an Arabic graffito (pl. L, 4) probably of the x<sup>th</sup> century, a profession of the Muslim faith by a certain Abu el Abbas ibn Ahmed ibn Mohamed ibn el Walid. This is important as bearing on the date

at which the monastery was destroyed for we cannot suppose that while it was still inhabited any Arab could have engraved his protest undisturbed.

### THE BRICK BUILDINGS.

We now turn from the church to describe the complex of buildings in brick — cells, storehouses, stables — which surrounded it. The most striking feature of these buildings as a whole is their irregularity, due both to the original plan and to the constant alteration to which it was evidently submitted. Walls are not straight nor vertical; the angles are not right angles: the walls were often built too thin and soon leaned over at alarming slopes; when this happened they were not taken down and rebuilt, but a buttress was added to prevent any further bending. These buttresses, projecting masses of brickwork of various shapes, form a characteristic feature of the site.

The walls are always of mud brick, but corners and door jambs are often of stone; in poorer rooms the doorway is of brick into which one or two blocks of limestone, pierced for a bolt-hole or carved to serve as a latch, are inserted.

The long magazines had barrel-roofs of brick; the smaller chambers were roofed with palm-logs supported by a single pillar.

In nearly every room there is some sign of change of plan or of reuse: rooms have been filled in with rubbish to a certain level, then reemployed; windows and doors have been blocked up. This blocking of doors and passages is very striking; it seems that as the power of the monastery declined and the risk of attack increased, thoroughfares were felt to be a danger that could be avoided, so passages and doors were blocked on every hand in order to make the building as much of a maze as possible.

The purpose of some rooms is sufficiently plain — the cells with painted niches in the east side and numerous cupboards in the walls, the bakery, the winecellar, the cowbyres. The room of the founder was marked by an inscription; the wall of the guardroom close by bore the rude portraits of the watchmen; long chambers with barrel-roofs are presumed to be magazines; one large hall may have been the hospital; but for many rooms no definite use could be assigned. In describing them it will be convenient not to follow strictly the sequence of numbers, which represents only the order in which the rooms were cleared, but to take the buildings in groups, first those near the church on the north and west, then the detached block further to the north.

*North of the church.* — There was originally a clear way all round the church, paved on this side at least; the stout wall at the end of the north corridor is a late addition as is clear from the careless way in which it was built. In the corridor stood the large basin on a granite stand (pl. XIV, 4). A door with granite threshold gave access to the church; two ways led into the monastery, one through the hall (705), the other by an unroofed passage (702) at the east end.

Between them is the buttressed south wall of a group of chambers (704, 703) all built at the same time. The buttress, made of stone below, of crude brick above, was added later.

703. Chamber of crude brick, covered with white plaster; it has two windows in the north wall, two in the south. Along the middle (north and south) line of the floor was a row of blocks which appeared to be architraves but that they were too heavy. One was 2 m. 50 cent. by 0 m. 40 cent. by 0 m. 30 cent. Some pieces of palm-logs made it more probable that the roof was a light one. The floor was paved with well-worn stones, one 0 m. 60 cent. by 0 m. 30 cent. Near the south wall was the fine capital of plate XXII, 1.

The entry was paved with slabs like the rest of the room; these did not rest on the sand but were supported by three planks obtained from an Old Egyptian coffin, and below them was a hollow containing three pots, a small bowl, a large wide vase with round base and a *qadûs* (one of the vases used in a water-wheel): the last two were filled with chaff. With them was a wooden lid which fitted the *qadûs*, bearing in incised letters the name ΑΠΑΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ.

One of the slabs in the pavement bore on the underside the inscription n° 40 (pl. XLVIII, 7).

704. Bakery. Fragments of wood and reed from the roof. Two windows in north wall. Upper part of walls much blackened. Part of a window frame of stone was found in the filling. Chamber contained a stone mortar 0 m. 45 cent. cube and an old Egyptian alabaster mould for making ushabtis. In the south-west corner was a heap of ashes.

707. Cupboards in north and south walls; in one of them was a wooden comb. Walls 2 m. 50 cent. high only, but they are denuded to the sills of the windows; the probable height of the room was then about 3 1/4 metres. The pavement was of stone.

710. Contained the fine capital of plate XVI, 1, a small marble pillar, part of a limestone window-frame with ΧΜΓ on the upper bar, and an unfinished epitaph on a paving-stone (pl. XLIX, 1).

709. A small cell, the east wall of which is later than those to west and south. The pillar in this wall is central to the chamber in its original state and must have supported the roof before the alterations were made.

The wall to the west is double; in the middle of it is a face of plaster painted red on the west side. The decoration on the walls is more elaborate than on any room yet found. On the south-west and north walls is a series of half-length figures of the Virtues and under them a band of interlaced ornament. Each Virtue has her name written above; on the south side they are ΘΕΛΠΙΣ, ΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ and ΤΑΓΑΠΕ (*sic*), on the west three whose names are lost, then ΘΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ, ΤΜΝΤΡΜ[ΝΣΗΤ], ΤΣΑΡΕΩΣΗΤ and another; on the north side there are traces of two figures (pl. IX and pl. X, 1, 2, 3); on the east side is the niche with the painting of Our Lord (pl. VIII and frontispiece); to the left is a palmtree, to the right two decorated crosses and, below the band of interlaced ornament, two peacocks facing each other.

The construction of the east wall is of the roughest; no attempt was made to get a vertical face (pl. X, 2). The character of the painting and the evidence from the building would alike lead us to attribute this chamber to a later date than the chapel (B) described in the last report.

714. The other half of the old room which was divided in two when the paintings of n° 709

were made. It contained part of a good capital of the type of that in plate XXV, hollowed out to form a mortar or basin; it was in poor condition. A double pilaster capital of simple type and a large number of potsherds were also found. There was no trace of plaster on the walls.

713. Room with plaster floor. No stone of the pavement remains and on the west the plaster foundation is broken through so that its section can be seen. It consists of two layers, each 0 m. 025 mill. thick, with a course of bricks embedded between them. On the east side are remains of a stair. At 1 m. 90 cent. from the floor is a series of holes at equal distances into which beams may have fitted and supported a light platform. At the west side a few stones are laid round the oblong hole broken through the floor; the place was perhaps a trough for fodder. There is an oven in the south-east corner.

705. To the west of this block of rooms is a more important one (705), a hall through which access was obtained to the room of the abbot and to the monastery; the north wall should not be shown unbroken in the plan as a door was found later. At the south end the doorway was an elaborate one; here were the two handsome door-jambs of plate XXX, and the Nekhtorheb stela, laid face upwards, formed the threshold. As in the gateway of the hospital (pl. VI) though the walls were of brick, the sides of the doorway were built in stone with two bands of wood inserted, a broad one below and a narrow one above. In this door the wood was better preserved; in the deep band at half the height of the column a piece remained with some traces of carving, and outside them on each side of the door a block from an Old Kingdom mastaba (representing a group of fishes), had been inserted, clearly for the decorative effect.

Below the pier of masonry on the west, outside of the door, stood the cross with two steps of plate XXXVIII.

Opposite the other side of the door in the corridor a late wall ran north and south for 2-3 metres and at the south of this was a stair leading up eastward. These two features seemed very late and are not indicated on the plan. The roof was supported by two columns of limestone, 2 m. 85 cent. high, which are still standing. Two capitals lay below them, both of the type of plate XXII, 4, one of them very large.

Inside the room had been plastered and covered with paintings, of which considerable traces remained on the east wall. Below a line of upright figures of saints was an inscription (n° 104) mentioning «our southern house». Along the foot of the wall ran a stone bench supported on bases carved like pilaster capitals (one in plate XLIII, 4) and this widened near the door to a rough platform half a metre high, made of parts of columns and other stones, evidently a very late structure. A well-carved candelabrum or stand for a basin (pl. XXIX, 6) lay also near the door. A stand for water-jars (pl. XXXVIII, 4) fragments of an altar slab of marble, the inscriptions n°s 61, 104, 105 and the only two Greek inscriptions found (pl. LI, 1, 2), some bits of wood carving of an interlacing pattern, a double pilaster capital of limestone and parts of two small marble pillars (0 m. 12 cent. in diameter) complete the list of monuments from this room.

706. This was the room of the watchmen, as the rude pictures and the graffiti on the wall (pl. XI, 3) informed us.

711. A stair leading up from 705 westwards.

712. A chamber with walls 3 m. 30 cent. high. This is a height frequently attained but seldom surpassed in these walls of brick and was probably not far from the general height of cells. The walls are painted Pompeian red to a height of 1 m. 70 cent.; above this comes white plaster. On the west side was a rather elaborate cross in a wreath, 0 m. 55 cent. in diameter, painted on the plaster. The wreath was of red colour and fastened with a tie below; leaves spring from the junction of the two crossbars and in the four spaces left between the arms of the cross and the encircling wreath are the words  $\text{COCON}$  and  $\text{NIKA}$ .

The stone cross of plate XXXVIII, 5 (left), is also from this room.

773. A chamber of some importance as the decoration on the walls and the inscription on the floor alike testify. This inscription (pl. XLIV, 4) states that «this is the place where Apa Jeremias used to sit». When the stone was removed for transport to the Museum another pavement was found below it at a depth of 0 m. 40 cent. So it is possible that the inscribed slab commemorates only the spot where Jeremias' cell once stood and that we are not to suppose that he ever inhabited the chamber of which we see here the ruins.

The room has a dais at one end raised by a single step above the rest of the floor. From the edge of the dais rose two columns and on the east wall was a pilaster. This does not mean that the dais alone was roofed; the good preservation of the floor and the paintings shows that this cannot have been the case. There were too in the filling some pieces of palm-logs which must have come from the roof.

The west wall had already threatened to fall in antiquity and had been held up by two buttresses; these we took down, for several good capitals had been employed in building them (pl. XIII, 2).

Three of the four walls had been plastered and painted; on the north wall there was no trace of such ornament left; in this wall too and in the north part of the east wall the bonding of bricks differed from that in the rest of the room, so they are probably restorations.

The paintings are shown in the plates, the south wall in plate XII, the east in plate XIII, 1; on the west little was left. Above there were traces of human figures standing among flowers, then an inscription of Saints' names and below them on a white ground just the names  $\text{NEBWXOΔONOCOP}$  and  $\text{ΔΟΥΛOC}$ , evidently a description of a scene which has disappeared, perhaps destroyed when the buttresses were built.

The rooms west of 773 are not numbered as they did not contain anything of interest.

To the north is the pair of rooms (1704, 1706) separated by the elaborate stone screen of plate VII and beyond them are the three magazines (1712-1714) which were but partly cleared in this season.

1704. A long room seen, partly dug out, on the right of plate VII. There is a door in the south-west corner but at 1 m. 85 cent. above the floor: it gave access to the cowbyre (1701). At this same level there is a series of holes in the west wall which may be the traces left by the beams of a very light roof. Fragments of very thin paving slabs found low down in the filling also go

to show that this was at one time a two-storeyed building. The walls are exceptionally high (4 metres). The pavement was of stone. A stand for waterjars with lion-head spout was found : it was in poor condition.

In the north wall were two windows, in the west a cupboard the roof of which was a console of palmwood (pl. XL, 1); higher up, on the level of the door was a graffito on the plaster (pl. L, 1). In the filling were a number of fragments of glass and part of a vase of earthenware with a painted inscription in Arabic.

Between this room and the next to the east (1706) was the screen of plate VII, consisting of four piers and two columns; the bases of the columns and of the false pilasters on the piers are 0 m. 70 cent. above the floor of the two rooms. Another floor must once have existed at the higher level. The screen is evidently a late insertion; the pilaster built into the south pier on the west side (pl. VII, right) shows that stones from an earlier Coptic structure were employed in it. The spaces between piers and columns were originally closed by wood-work but later were blocked with walls of mud brick. The columns in the east and west row were still standing; two of them were of marble (2 m. 65 cent. and 2 m. 75 cent. long), the others of limestone. Two capitals were found (one in plate XXIX, 1).

The south wall is separated from the north wall of room 773 by a space too narrow to have ever been used as a passage; in the wall is a doorway which had in the latest times been blocked: it is just opposite another blocked doorway in the founder's room (773).

In the north wall are four doors; of these the westernmost was blocked; it had led into a passage; the three others opened into long magazines.

In the east wall a door which had not been recognised when the map was made should be shown; to the north of the door the wall is of brick, to the south of stone, of better work than the rest of the room. At the middle point of this wall a stone basin  $1\frac{1}{2}$  metre square and 0 m. 30 cent. deep, is sunk in the floor.

We proceed now to the series of rooms on the west of the plan.

1702. Used as a cowbyre in later period. Divided into three by brick walls with stone foundations (pl. XIII, 4, left). In the filling a pilaster capital from a gateway and part of an acanthus capital like those in the north aisle of the church (pl. XXIII). The lower part of the walls, below the level at which the cows stood, is covered with white plaster.

1701. A similar room (pl. XIII, 4, right) dug out only to the level at which the cattle were kept. On the right is the doorway into chamber 1704. There is a blocked door in the north-east corner.

770. An unimportant room. The walls are covered with thin plaster : in them are three cupboards. The door to the north was blocked. The south door had stone jambs. On the south side of it was the inscription n° 76.

771. Contained a piece of a stone window-frame, some fragments of glass and one of the wooden toys in the form of a cat (pl. XL, 5).

774. This space was perhaps an open yard : there is no pavement left and the walls surrounding it are of various types of work. The half-wall between this and 775 is of stone and contains two Egyptian blocks reused, one from a New Empire tomb, the other from a mastaba. In the eastern half too (775) are several inscribed blocks reused. On the two gateways are several graffiti in black and red ink. One, difficult to decipher, is in Arabic and written by a Muslim. The blocked doorway in the south wall formerly led into the open space west of the church before the heavy buttressed wall was built.

782. This is shown as a passage but was later filled in and formed with the rough east wall a single buttress. In the west wall were four narrow slits, in pairs, plastered internally, once windows

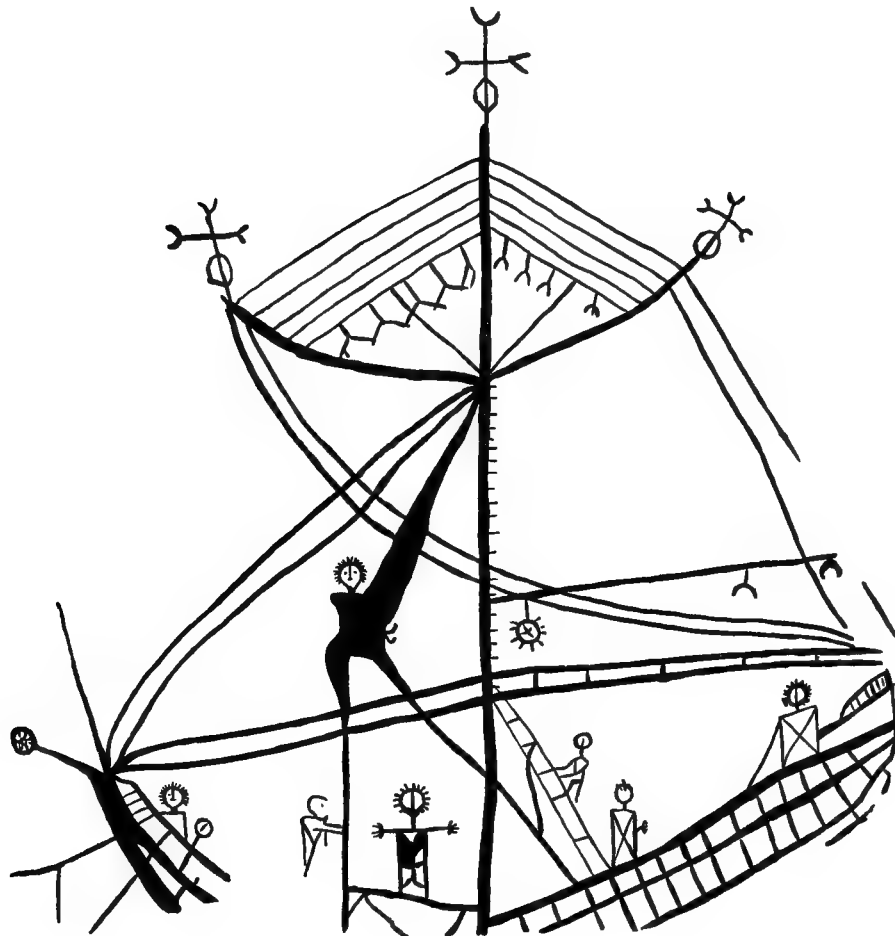


Fig. 3.

to the two small rooms 779 and 785. This wall was plastered, and painted on it was the rude picture of a ship with crosses on mast and yard (see fig. 3) also a graffito in Coptic (n° 143). In the filling was the small ostrakon of plate XLII, 3, with the Blemmye(?) inscription.

779. Room with blocked door at north-west corner; in the blocking a stone with an inscription (n° 77). Two pillars of limestone are still standing, one with its capital, but their bases do

not reach the plaster floor. In the room another block (pl. XLV, 4) with the name of Jeremias the Archimandrite.

785. Blocked door in the north-east corner. Height of walls 3 m. 40 cent. The threshold of the door in the north-west is at the level of the lintel of the other door. The room had then been occupied at two different levels. In it were a capital, two pieces of bas-relief (pl. XXXV, 1, 2) and a fragment of an ivory comb.

The stair south-east of this room led up to the roof or to an upper storey that has now disappeared.

787. A cell with a blocked door in the north-east, another in the west and a third, with stone jambs, to the south. The floor is paved; one of the stones bears the inscription of plate XLIX, 4. In the north wall were traces of an airshaft, in the east of an oratory, while in the south and west walls were cupboards. The jambs of the door are visible in plate XIII, 3.

788. A small space bounded on the east by the heavy buttress wall and on the west by the last cell. In it is a small stair of mud brick (pl. XIII, 3).

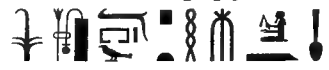

789. Probably an open passage. In the west wall is a blocked door, on the east the heavy buttress wall; from it a jarstand and a good piece of cornice were recovered. Two of the flat blocks of plate XLV, 1, with inscription in high relief, were found here. The small one, beginning ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΚΗΣ, was from the church side of the wall. The floor was paved and in it was an inscribed block, an epitaph of the usual type mentioning a ΠΩΤΗΡΙΟΥ (not photographed). Above the floor was a fine decorated block with floral ornament and human figures. It was found in the next season and will appear in a plate of the next report but is mentioned here to complete the account of this room. It is a block 1 m. 35 cent. long by 0 m. 45 cent. high and 0 m. 15 cent. thick; in the centre is a cross; on each side are two circles of foliage; inside these are four heads, those of a man, an ox, a lion and again a man. Below is a line of text ΔΟΞΑΘΥΙCΧCΝΙΚΑΨΑΞΒΙΚ-ΤΩΡΥΛΕΙΝΜΝΩΟΙΠΕCΩΗΡΕΔΜΗΝ. Another block, a small one, bore the names ΩΙΝΕΥΤΕ (sic) and ΜΗΝΑ arranged in the four angles of a cross and (2) in a square surmounted by a cross the name ΑΠΑ ΚΟΛΘΕ ΠΩΕΝ ΠΕΤΡΕ arranged in four lines.

Another stone bore the inscription ΜΑΡΘΑΜΟΥΕ and yet another (pl. XXVI, 3) the laurel-wreath pattern in relief.

793. The door jambs were of stone; in one was a pilaster capital inverted and employed as a base (pl. XXXII, 1, top). The floor was of plaster 0 m. 06 cent. thick; a hole had been broken through this in the middle and below it appeared two walls of red brick, apparently of earlier Coptic work. In the south-west corner was an upright cylinder of earthenware, 0 m. 60 cent. in diameter, with a quantity of ashes below it. In the walls were five cupboards.

794. Another small room. The door is decorated with pilaster capitals placed 0 m. 70 cent. from the ground, not therefore in their original position. The floor is of plaster; from it rises a stone with an L-shaped hole drilled from the top and from one side — used, we may suppose, for tying animals.

795. A small square chamber with stone pavement and, in the centre, a slender pillar of limestone : the walls were once plastered white. In the north-west corner was a bench. A fragment of a stone window-frame decorated with floral ornament, some fragments of amphoræ, an ostrakon and the skull of a wild boar were found in this chamber. The ostrakon bore a row of six names each followed by a high numeral : ΑΒΡΑΔΑΜ Α, ΖΕΡΜΙΝΕ ΑΙΑ ΠΑΝΕCΝΗΥ Α' ΒΙΚΤΩΡ Α(?)  
 ΖΙΑ ΑΙC Ζ ΜΟΥΤΕ ΑΙΑ.

796. A room divided in two by a row of columns down the centre, the spaces between these having been later blocked with masonry of brick and stone. In this wall, inverted and used as a base to a half column, was the smallest of the vineleaf capitals (pl. XXII, 2). Another of the columns had been obtained from the tomb of a certain Ptahmes. It is a papyrus bundle column, 2 m. 05 cent. high, with a text on the abacus : (→)  and  and another of seven vertical lines on a tablet below the pendent ties :



798. Has a stone floor sloping down to the east and, in the south-east corner, an L-shaped manger.

The cells north-east of the church marked on the plan with the letters A-J have been described in the report of last year. We now turn to the detached group further north. The space between has since been found to contain other parts of the monastery; in no direction indeed had the limits of the buildings been at this time reached.

726. The most important room in this group has been provisionally called the hospital, but the evidence for this attribution is slight, being only the presence on the doorjamb of the inscription (n° 2) which mentions the hospital.

The room was certainly an important one; its size, the good stone pavement and the elaborate doors to north and south sufficed to prove so much.

The floor is of good limestone slabs, laid north and south, fairly regular in size. The lengths of a group of contiguous blocks were, in centimetres :

133, 130, 130, 133, 98, 115, 118, 110, 111, 128, 123, 118,  
 and the breadths : 43, 43, 43, 43, 49, 49, 49, 49, 49, 42, 42, 42.

No graffiti were observed on the floor.

The walls were of brick, plastered and painted red; on the west side part of the wall was of good stone, apparently being part of an earlier building; one of the blocks, certainly reused,

bore the name of Nectanebo I<sup>st</sup>. In the north-west corner was a room formed by the addition of two walls of careless construction, the upper part of them consisting of a row of amphoræ daubed over with mud. Down the middle is a row of columns; several capitals of a simple type were found.

The room was probably covered by two barrel-vaults or by two rows of small domes, for at the south end were some of those thin bricks with deeply channelled faces which were specially made for building arches without wooden centering.

In the north wall were two cupboards and in the north-east corner a stone shelf. The north door (pl. XIV, 1) was blocked with masonry; when this was taken down one of the stones composing it was found to be a fragment of the original east doorjamb for which the block with the shell and two whorls had been substituted.

In the east wall, going from north to south, there were to be noted two large cupboards, a buttress built up against the red plaster, then another blocked door, two more cupboards and two niches, a larger and a smaller one; before the first on the floor were three incised crosses, once probably containing metal but now filled with plaster; on the edge of the slab forming the base of the smaller niche the names of the two founders were incised.

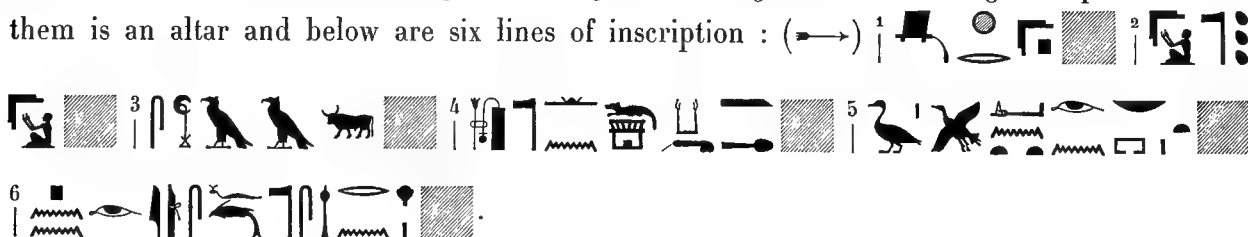
The southern gateway must have been elaborately decorated; its appearance as found is seen in plate XIV, 2, and in plate VI; the blocks overthrown from it and found just to the south fill plate XXXI.

The east end of the south wall is formed by the stone pier. Next to this is a cupboard low down, then a pilaster in the line of the columns then two cupboards, the first bricked up, the second bearing on its back wall the only graffito discovered in this room  $\Delta\text{ΝΟΚ ΠΑCΟΝ ΔΑΕΞ} \text{ΔΠΑ}$ .

In the west wall were three more cupboards.

Buried below the floor at a point a little north of the middle and near the west wall was a very large vase 1 m. 20 cent. high and 3 m. 10 cent. round, covered with a heavy limestone lid with a hole in the middle. This was not observed till the second season and is not marked on the present plan.

Of small objects there were few; the most important were a small round-topped stela 0 m. 12 cent. wide, representing a kneeling man facing left and adoring an Apis; between them is an altar and below are six lines of inscription :



728. A chamber with a peculiar niche in the east wall (pl. VI).

The line on the plan between this room and 722 represents a change of level in the floor; it was not clear if a wall had stood there or not. The walls were plastered and painted; on the north side was a frieze of standing figures of saints. In the east wall were two windows with sloping sills; below one of them was an inscription (n° 96) in large letters; it had been covered with whitewash and was well preserved. Just below it was a graffito in small characters  $\Delta\text{ΡΙΠ}$ .

ΜΕΕΥΕΝ ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΕΠΩΝΑ ΠΑΝΙΛΛΕΝ ΤΑ ΘΜΤΟΝ ΜΟΥ . . . ΟΥΤ and above it was another :  
ΑΠΑΚΙΡΙΩΝ ΖΗΛΙΑΣ.

Under this was a cornice moulding in clay painted with a design in dark ochre and blue; this had fallen away before the photograph was taken.

Below each window is a cupboard. Between them is the niche, which differs from the other niches found in the cells in that it contains no table or altar and that the curve (pl. XIV, 3) is pierced by a window. This is nearly square, and has a sloping sill, plastered and painted. On the reveal of the window is a design of a dove with ribbons floating from its neck and a leafy branch before it; on the sill are five circles with red rims and red spots on a slatey background.

The pillars are dissimilar; that on the left has spiral flutings and the flutings are triangular in section while the grooves of the chevrons on the right are square. Holes are pierced at the tops of the capitals as if to support a curtain.

The conch has been covered with a thin layer of plaster and then painted brightly. The feather pattern inside is blue with yellow outlines; the oakleaves(?) on the rim were alternately red and green. The wall at this part is built of red brick in order to support the weight of this stone.

The objects found loose in the sand were a small pilaster capital (type of plate XXXII, 2, top), a small bottle of very thick lightcoloured glass and a doll of bone.

722. In the two corners of the north side were the remains of brick ovens, on the west side a built caldron and a bench. The north wall was decorated with the pattern shown in plate LIII of the last report and, less completely, in plate L, 2, of this volume, a scalloped red band with green leaves in the U-shaped spaces and also above the knobs on the sides of these curves.

On the wall were two graffiti (nos 113 and 114) and in the filling was a stone (pl. XLV, 3) with a Coptic inscription written backwards.

727. This was, in the next season, found to be a large and important room, the refectory—but in this year only a small part of one wall was cleared. On it however to the north of the doorway was the important inscription (pl. L, 2, no 91) giving the month and day of the month on which the two founders were born, ordained and died. To the south of the door was the best painting found as yet, the head of an archangel in a medallion (pl. XI, 4) and below it a graffito (no 115) giving the names of some of the Alexandrian patriarchs. This part of the wall was in an unfortunate condition; the graffito was too faint to be photographed and the painting fell before it could be copied in colour.

729. This must have been an open space to the south of the hospital(?). In it were found a series of blocks from the doorway (pl. XXXI). Below the west and north walls were benches of stone; on the west wall was a graffito (no 117) in large red letters.

743. A small room with a pillar still standing in the centre.

744. This contained the stone with an inscription in the Fayumic dialect (no 41, pl. XLVIII, 8) also a pot full of seeds of safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*). These were identified by the workmen and their opinion confirmed by Mr. Fletcher, the Director of the Agricultural School.

Among the rooms on the east of the hospital we may note the following :

735. The west wall is of brick; on the east only the foundations are left, but they are of good stone. In this quarter it appears that some earlier and better building has been reused.

732. A descending stair leads out of this room in the north-east corner.

The pavement is of stone. Above it were three loose stones, each decorated with a long incised cross, almost of the Latin form — a plain pilaster capital, two lamps of the squat jug type (pl. XLII, 2, both ends of middle row) and two of the blocks of stone used for boltholes in brick doorways.

737. This room was roofed by a barrel vault made of unbaked bricks (0 m. 24 cent. by 0 m. 15 cent. by 0 m. 055 mill.) with diagonal grooves on the faces. There were quantities of broken pottery and one complete amphora. A circular wooden stamp or lid bore an incised cross.

740. Contained part of a lintel with two crossed fishes as ornament (pl. XLV, 6).

733. Cell with a small niche or oratory in the east wall : the table had been broken off and the niche partly bricked up and converted into a cupboard. On the curved surface of the back was a small painting of Christ seated with one hand raised in benediction (pl. X, 4). On each side was an angel with hands raised. The floor is of stone; the walls were plastered and a dado of dark red, 1 m. 60 cent. high, ran round the room; above it the walls were white.

In the north wall were two air-shafts, in the west wall a cupboard. Along the south wall was a bench 0 m. 70 cent. high, built mostly of brick but at the east end of stone; in this a stone vase was imbedded; the lid was in place. A simple capital lay on the floor.

Turning now to the space north of the hospital we have :

739. This was an open yard with a shed on the west side; part of the stone floor of the shed with spaces cut out for the bases of pillars remained in place.

742. A long barrel-vaulted storeroom, probably a winecellar. The spring of the arch still stood and in the V-shaped space between it and the wall were considerable quantities of potsherds, probably constructional. The vault had perhaps collapsed in antiquity, for in the wall, at a level above what is left of the arch, were a series of holes for the insertion of wooden rafters. In the filling, at a high level, was a rough stone mortar 0 m. 80 cent. high. There were also a lot of vases more or less broken.

746. Probably another winecellar. A stair led out of the room in the north-west corner. The lower steps were made in a pier of unbaked brick : the upper part was built on palmlogs which stretched from this pier to the north wall and were further supported by transverse baulks.

In the filling were two curious objects of limestone, perhaps stands for draining vases after they were washed. They consisted of a short cylinder (0 m. 25 cent. long and 0 m. 09 cent. in diameter) rising from a round tray 0 m. 22 cent. in diameter and 0 m. 03 cent. deep; the execution is rough and there is no sign of heavy wear.

725, a long magazine and 724, part of a large court, became more intelligible during the next season and may be left to a future report.

### TEMPLE OF TETA PYRAMID.

The excavation here was continued, but still probably not a quarter of the temple has been cleared; the great amount of stone to be moved makes this work both expensive and slow. The accompanying figure (4) and the photograph in plate LIII show the present state of the site. On the right (pl. LIII) is the small pyramid of Neferkara (?), described in the last report; the top of the pyramid, as it now stands, is at the level of the XIX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty floor. Between this and the main temple is a passage over 2 metres wide; the pavement here has gone, so the passage looks dark in the reproduction; in it lie several stones from the rounded top of the temenos wall. To the left is the floor of the temple; in some places one, in others two, layers of stone remain; in others the pavement has been entirely swept away. The XIX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty cemetery extended over this part of the site as over the small pyramid, and from its level stone-lined shafts had been dug, which pierced the temple pavement; the linings of these shafts have been left in place and now stand up above the pavement like little towers.

Low down on the left a channelled stone will be seen; it is part of a drain that ran below the pavement.

The lowest courses of three walls can be distinguished; near them are coffins of earthenware and wood, let down from higher levels. In the plan the temenos wall of the small pyramid is on the left; on the top is the east face of the Teta pyramid, determined at last by three blocks of the casing, found this year in position. The limestone walls of the temple, the quartzite blocks used as thresholds, and the walls and columns of the XIX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty chapel with the shafts connected with it are distinguished by different hatchings and by dead black. It will be noted that alabaster was used for the pavement of the central part of the temple.

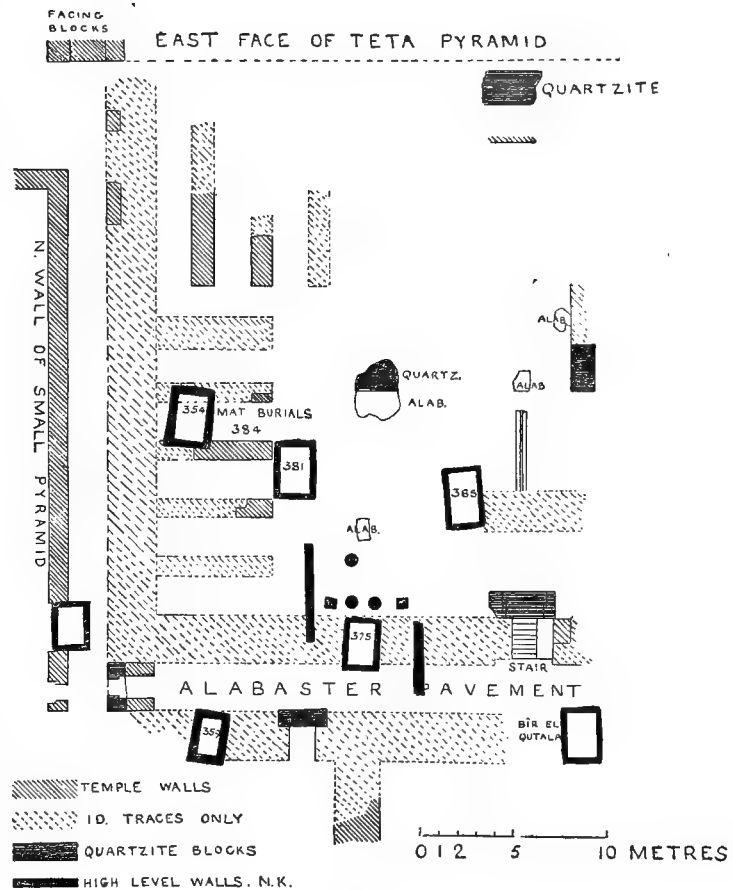


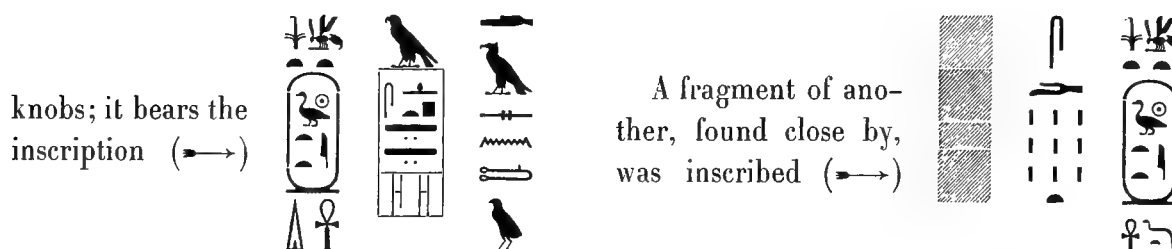
Fig. 4.

Of the bas-reliefs very few pieces of any size were found, though single hieroglyphs and fragments of *khaker* ornament and stars from ceiling blocks were fairly common. The better blocks are shown in plate LIV; with them should be mentioned a fragment with the three semicircular signs seen behind the king dancing, another with the head of the goddess Satis, a third with offering-bearers.

Two granite door-jambs in the north-east quarter, near the Bîr el Qutala, bore the names of Teta incised. One is in fair preservation, a block 1 m. 85 cent. by 0 m. 90 cent. by 0 m. 80 cent. and gives one name of the king not hitherto known. It reads :

Near these was a small «brick» of alabaster 0 m. 035 mill. long, from a foundation deposit, at some height above the Old Kingdom floor.

The death-mask of the king (pl. LIV) was the most valuable single object found and, except for the head of a statue (pl. LVI) and the ceremonial maces, almost the only small monument left from the earliest period. One of the maceheads is of red and white breccia 0 m. 055 mill. high, pear-shaped and with its surface carved in lozenge-shaped



Both of these were shiny and darkened from being carried in mens' hands. Part of a third was found bearing again the *ka* name of Teta. Two of these maces were shown in plate V of the last report.

The monuments of later periods fall into the same classes as those distinguished in neighbouring ground last year, — (a) high, narrow coffins of XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty or earlier, (b) chapel and tombshafts of the XIX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, (c) poor burials of the same period without coffins, wrapped in mats and (d) mummiform coffins of a later date, perhaps Saitic. Of the Coptic period little remained.

a. Only one coffin of the first class was found (n° 358) : it lay in the passage between the small pyramid and the temple. The body had been disturbed, but three gold rings of thin metal were found among the bones : they were of the well-known broken circle type (? ear-rings), broad and corrugated, the flutings running round the circle.

b. The XIX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty level could be easily traced over the site, and of one of the chapels the pavement, the bases of columns and one course of a side wall were seen.



The pavement was at about 2 m. 20 cent. above the temple floor; a block from the roof of the temple had been reused in it.

The mouths of the stone-lined shafts were at the same level as the floor of this chapel : four of them, all robbed in antiquity, were examined.

354. Shaft 2 m. 55 cent. by 1 m. 58 cent. in plan; long axis east and west. Depth 7 m. 20 cent. No chamber below. In the shaft the base of a bowl of blue frit of uncertain date.

359. Top of shaft at the same level as the last. Depth of shaft 9 metres. Two chambers below to west, one inside the other, both small with a low roof (0 m. 80 cent.).

360. Shaft cut through north wall of small pyramid yard. Depth 6 m. 80 cent. from foot of wall; original depth therefore about 9 metres. Two chambers below to west. Contained a wooden head-rest with fluted pillar and broad base.

381. Shaft filled with sand. Two chambers below to west. In the second the alabaster vase of plate LVII, 5, with the cartouche of Rameses II incised (pl. LVIII, 5). Two eyes of steatite once inlaid in the coffin, four pots (not given here) of New Empire types and part of a lower millstone of quartzite that had been used as a hone for bronze tools, formed, with a group of ushabtis, the remaining furniture of the tomb. The ushabtis, 75 in number, were of green glaze inscribed in ink with the name  or .

The two stelæ of plate LVII, 4, doubtless came from one of the chapels above these shafts.

c. A certain number of poor burials were found wrapped in mats, generally at a slightly lower level than the mummiform coffins.

358. West of shaft 354 was a body wrapped in a mat (pl. LVIII, 2); it lay north and south on a slope and below a wooden coffin (358 a) and had evidently been moved in antiquity. The arms lay at length over the body, the hands together. The bones were very strong and well preserved. The objects found with the body, one of them a very complete draught-board, are shown in plates LVIII and LIX. The date is in the reign of Sety I<sup>st</sup>.

383. 1. Mat of black twigs. Head south. A male. Arms lay by sides.

2. Head south. Age 19 to 21.

3. Wrapped in date-palm matting. Head south.

4. A child. Head north.

5. Wrapped in a mat of grass. Head north.

6. Mat of *gerid* (midrib of palmleaf) with ties of grass rope. Much cloth remains. Head north.

8. The body was cut off at the knees by the wall of a shaft of the XIX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (354).

9. Man with a stick decorated with inlaid bark. Head north.

10. Gerid mat. Head west.

d. A series of poor burials in mummiform coffins, evidently of a late period, were found, laid in unlined graves; nothing was seen of the superstructures, if indeed they ever existed.

365. Four coffins east of a XIX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty shaft (354) and lying at about the level of the top of it, later therefore in date than the XIX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty: the heads in all cases were to the west.

1. Red pottery coffin. Body tightly wrapped.

2. Anthropoid coffin of wood, painted black with figures in white, the face green. Although the body formed a neatly wrapped package there was great disorder in the bones; the three bones of the pelvic girdle were at the level of the chest and separated one from the other.

3. A child, in plain coffin of tapering, oblong shape. Fayence eye tied in a lock of hair on the forehead. A lot of minute blue beads in the centre of the body and below the feet.

4. Mummiform wood coffin; face of mud. Wrappings had disappeared. No *Beigaben*.



5. Crossed bandages; mass of yellow salt in mouth.

The following interments belong to the same class.

374. A poor burial near the Bir el-Qutala (plan p. 19) and at about the level of the pavement over that shaft. There are two coffins; the outer one is mummiform, of thin boards; the sides of the wig painted blue, made of wood thickly covered with clay; a necklace of elaborate lotus bud pattern is painted on the coffin, below that the wood is yellow; there is a vertical column of inscription but no name. The inner coffin is similar, the painting a little ruder, the wig lapels this time green.

The bones lie loose inside a thick shell of black decayed wrappings. On the clavicle a stain of silver; near the neck some beads, an eye and two drop-shaped earrings, all of silver.

384. Another group of these coffins. The lids were only just below the level of the XIX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty pavement and there were no paving-stones left above them.

1. Mummiform coffin of stout wood, plain. On the lid in faint black a column of inscription ending The face of clay. The wrappings came off in a pad, leaving the bones clean below; they were exceptionally wellpreserved and strong. A red powder was noticed near the fingers, probably resin. Hair remains on the chin. Arms at length; hands together in front. On the back of the coffin in black line a figure of Amentet,  above her head, a stand  below her feet.

2. Coffin with face of mud, painted a bluish pink, a colour rather characteristic of these poor late coffins, the wig painted in black and yellow stripes. On the chest a necklace roughly painted. Down the centre a column of text in black on yellow background; feet destroyed, no name; coffin empty.

3. Same type of coffin; face bluish pink; wig with red, blue and white stripes.

4. Similar but in poorer condition.

5. Poor coffin, ground colour white. Face of mud, bluish pink. Wig black and yellow. Four genii below the necklace. A column of text but no name.

6. Child's coffin. Face of mud, not painted.

7. Another child. Coffin painted white; face of mud. Head west. An eye of fayence near the head.

8. An adult. Face and wig of coffin painted white; the chest and the column over the legs also white, but unfinished; the necklace was not painted nor was the column of text written. Wrappings of blackened cloth. Traces of the white ant.

9. Mummiform coffin with face of mud lies close to the wall of the XIX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty chapel at about the ground level of that period.

\* 391. Mummiform coffin of wood made of small pieces with clay liberally used as luting and to round corners. Face of wood, very rude. Three similar coffins were close by, all lying with their heads to the west.

## MASTABAS.


While the excavation of the monastery was proceeding a search was also carried on for mastabas suitable for sale to certain museums which had applied for them. It should be explained that the mastabas of Saqqara have in the past suffered severely from the depredations of dealers who bribed or terrorised our guards, dug out a tomb by night and sold what blocks they could get away to the agents of the great museums, often at high prices. If there were no sale for these reliefs there would be no illicit digging with all the destruction that the process entails. It was decided therefore, some years ago, to offer complete mastaba chambers at a low price to the principal European and American museums, in the hope that afterwards an appeal might be made with good hope of success to the authorities of these museums to help in the protection of the monuments by refusing to buy detached blocks obviously stolen from important tombs. This

policy has now been followed for several years and a series of good complete tomb-chambers have been sent away.

Several more were needed this year. To find them was a task that demanded time; many tombs must be cleared before one is found which in the quality and variety of the scenes depicted, the size of the blocks, and in their freedom from salt has all the virtues required. It has thus happened that we have had rapidly to uncover a whole series of tombs, most of them already known and described in MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, and to make plans and photographs, so far as this was possible. It was not possible to dig or plan them completely for neither money nor time sufficed to dig all round the tombs; we could only search for the chamber and the serdab. The area examined this year was the long strip between the north temenos wall of the Step Pyramid and the sandy hollow, probably an ancient road, to the north of it. A few tombs outside this area were also pointed out to me by an old workman whose long acquaintance with this cemetery dates from the time when he worked as a basket boy under Mariette. A plan of the work was prepared, on a scale of 1/100; it forms a long ribbon, not very useful in its present state nor convenient for printing, and is held over until the features north and south can be filled in.

Of two at least of the tombs detailed accounts with illustrations must at some time be published; the following short record is intended to show what tombs have been observed and fixed on the plan. The numbers in the 900's are references to our field-notes.


901. MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, D, 1. .

902. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 60-64 bis. .

LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Ergänzungsband, I, p. 165.

CHAMPOLLION, *Notices*, II, p. 485-486.

A long narrow corridor runs north from the north-east chamber in the plan in Lepsius and from it open the serdab and another chamber. This corridor is roofed but seems to be the passage between the tomb of Rashepses and another tomb to the east. The walls are covered with scenes in painted relief; the sculpture is rough but the painting is exceptionally well preserved and some of the scenes are well worthy of reproduction in colours; a flax harvest, a pottery kiln, a scene of inspection of linen and a group of animals including a stag are especially noteworthy.

The serdab had been robbed in antiquity but the fine portrait head of wood (pl. LX) had been left, as well as part of the base of a limestone statue bearing the incised inscription , some fragments of wooden models and a tablet of wood which must have been held by a seated scribe.


In the corridor low down, lying closely packed on a sloping bank of sand were a lot (12 or more) of poor bodies wrapped in mats; on the finger of one of them was a scarab of XIX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty type and above them, lying loose in the sand, were the following objects: 1° a headrest with ivory studs and tenon, the stem fluted; 2° the handle of a *sotep* with bronze hoof; 3° two leather-bound fragments of staffs and 4° two coarse wooden ushabtis. These bodies were at a level below the base of the painted scenes and so had not been disturbed by previous visitors. For visitors


there have been; the corridor has been long known and was shown last to the Empress Eugénie in 1869.

To the south-east of the tomb was an open court entered by a door in the north-east corner, and on the two sides of this doorway two copies of the rescript of Assa (pl. LXI, 2, and p. 79) had been engraved.

903. MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, D. 3 : .

This tomb was this year taken down and sold to the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

904. A rough stela of local stone with a cartouche of .

905. MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, D. 2 : .

The tomb has suffered since Mariette's day; the east wall has disappeared.


906. .

A small tomb chamber, 4 m. 50 cent. by 1 m. 10 cent., with two stelæ, the north one of masonry and in poor condition, built of local stone; the south one a single block of Toura stone (pl. LXI, 1).

907. MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, D. 6 : .

The north wall has now disappeared.

908. MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, D. 5 : .


The stela has suffered with the lapse of time and much of the inscription copied by Mariette has disappeared. On the south wall are parts of two registers, not noted in Mariette *Mastabas*, painted on plaster : in the upper one are four seated girls, singing; between them are two harpers, the word  above each : in the lower are seven dancing girls, their hands raised above their heads; to the right are three girls clapping their hands. The horizontal lines drawn in red to guide the draughtsman have been left. The distances of these lines measured in centimetres from the top are given below :

Top of head.....	0
Lower line of hair on forehead.....	10
Base of neck.....	40
Below shoulder.....	58
Navel.....	103
Below hips.....	148

The lower part of the bodies has disappeared.


909. .

Of this tomb but one block remained; it was from the gateway and represents the lady seated, with her name in large characters in front of her. The wife of Rashepses bore this name.


910. MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, D. 8 : .

Stela now in very poor condition; it would hardly be possible to copy all that Mariette has made out.

911.

A long (4 m. 20 cent. +) and narrow (0 m. 75 cent.) chamber with, formerly, two stelæ. The north one, of good limestone, is lost; a few fragments show the material of which it was made. The south one, built of blocks of local stone, bears on the drum the name  (?).

912.



Chamber containing a lintel of white limestone with the inscription .

913. .

This is a new tomb. The main chamber, 3 m. 76 cent. by 1 m. 25 cent., is in rather good preservation. The colour is exceptionally bright, the roof is complete; only on the south side have a few blocks been displaced and they are probably all left in the tomb. But a great deal of salt has exuded and crystallised on the surface of the stones and many blocks have been cracked by the great pressure above, for the tomb now lies under a great heap of chips thrown out at some time in antiquity from the temenos of the Step Pyramid. The stela is in good preservation. The scenes consist entirely of bearers of offerings, slaughter of oxen and pictures of food and menus, with good vases and flowers: they contain no scenes of manufactures or hunting. Some photographic copies were taken but it would not be safe to stay long enough in the tomb to make water-colours; the pressure must first be removed from the roof and the walls strengthened, or else the whole structure be taken down and set up again in a museum.

There is another chamber to the north serving as an entrance, with scenes in line only.

The serdab too was found; in it were fragments of the covering of lifesize statues, made of wood and thickly coated with plaster.

915.  and .


An oblong chamber; its west wall of good white limestone, with scenes in relief, the three other walls of local marly stone with the scenes only painted, well-drawn but in a bold and sketchy style. The west wall has been sold to the Metropolitan Museum of New York. The three other walls, which must suffer a good deal each time they are exposed to the air, were copied before they were again filled in (pl. LXII-LXVI).

*North side.* — Scene of matmaking, pl. LXVI, 2. Above, not worth copying, traces of men and bulls.

*East side, north of door.* — Fishing scene, pl. LXII, 1. Above this a stretch of water and on it a papyrus boat with feet of large figure which must have faced south. Near the door another figure, just distinguishable, faced north. Between the two water and fishes.

*East side, south of door.* — Donkeys, harvest scenes, pl. LXII, 2. Above the part copied were the feet of a large figure and behind it a dog.

*Doorway, north side.* — Below vases, tables, offerings; above, men dragging a statue, all much defaced.

*Doorway, south side.* — *Lower register.* Statue in a shrine. Figure offering incense. A . An offering bearer.

*Upper register.* Two bulls and six men dragging statue, one pouring water.

The lower register is in red outline only; the upper in colour.

*South end of chamber.* — *Upper register.* Musicians (pl. LXVI, 1).


*Lower register.* Two men carrying offerings of fruit; feet of a third figure.


*West side.* — Beginning at the south end we have :

1. Offering bearers (pl. LXVI, 3). The work is in relief.
2. Stela of the man (pl. LXIII).
3. Scenes of music and draught playing (pl. LXIV).
4. Stela of the man and his wife (pl. LXV).
5. Offering bearers again (pl. LXVI, 4). Painted only.

916. .


A stela only, 2 m. 60 cent. by 1 m. 40 cent., of marly limestone, forms the west wall of a recess.

Above, the man sits before a table; below him is the line : .

On the drum is the name : .

On the inner jambs :  P.

On the outer jambs :  P.

919.  , MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, D. 7.

The inscriptions mentioned in Mariette *Mastabas*, p. 188, have been recovered. Photographs on plate LXI, 3, 4, 5. Copies and commentary by Spiegelberg, p. 82.

920.

A tomb close to the tomb of Thy, not therefore in the same line with the rest. It is almost entirely destroyed. The lower courses remain of a long chamber which contained the stelæ; there is also a square entrance chamber, the walls of which were once covered with excellent reliefs. But the blocks were evidently of too fine a quality of stone and had been early quarried away; only the lowest course had been spared, and this for the reason that the blocks were so massive (1 m. 25 cent. high and 0 m. 55 cent. thick) and so firmly held in place by the stones of the pavement that they were very difficult to remove. Of the reliefs there remained two ships, geese, cranes, hornless cows, a boat going to market, vasemaking. The last scene has been published in the *Musée égyptien*, t. III, 1<sup>er</sup> fasc.

The name of the owner of the tomb was not found.

# THE COPTIC INSCRIPTIONS

BY SIR HERBERT THOMPSON.

The inscriptions have been arranged as follows :

- A. Inscriptions cut in stone or wood (n° 1-88), divided into two sections :
  - a. Those which are reproduced in the plates, arranged in the order of the plate numbers;
  - b. Those which are not so reproduced and which are arranged according to the number given to the room in which there were found.
- B. Inscriptions in paint or ink and graffiti in two sections similar to the foregoing (n° 89-157).
- C. Ostraca (n° 158-168).

## A. — INSCRIPTIONS CUT IN STONE OR WOOD.

1. Inscription on wall incised and painted red, from room 773 (pl. XIII, 1). — Later a cross was nailed over part of the inscription.

	ICIX	ΠΧΙC
	ΤΓΜΛ	ΥΜΛ
	ΡΙΑ	ΛΜ
	Λ CIB	ΛΕ Ω
5	ΠΛCΟ	ΝΛΠΑ
	✕ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜ	
	ΙΑC ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩ	
	Χ ΑΠΑ ΑΛΕΞ/	
	ΠΑΡΧΗΜΑΤΡ	
10	ΙΤΗC ΙΩΣΑΝ	
	ΗC ΜΕ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ	
	ΝΕCΩΗΡΓ	

Jesus... the Christ (Ι. ΧΡC), our (?) mother Mary, Ama Sibylla . . . ; my brother Apa ✕ Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Apa Alex(ander)<sup>(1)</sup> the archimandrite; John and (Ι. ΜΕΝ) George his sons.

Apparently two commemorations, the first consisting of the five upper lines commemorating a monk Apa . . . whose name is lost. Later a metal cross was nailed over this, and another invocation to Saints Jeremias and Enoch added in favour of Alexander the archimandrite and abbot of the monastery, and his (spiritual) sons John and George, whom we know from n° 150 to have been the priors of the monastery under him.

<sup>(1)</sup> The name is written out in full in n° 150. He is no doubt the same as the "holy Alexander" of n° 5 and his name occurs on a stela at Cairo (*Ann. Serv.*, VIII, p. 94; MURRAY, *Sagqara Mast.*, pl. XXXVI).

## 2. Limestone block (pl. XIV, 2).

ΠΑΣΝ ΑΠΛΟ ΠΩΕΠΑΣΟΝ  
 ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΠΙΩΤ ΠΜΑ  
 ΝΕΤΩΩΝΙ ΠΕΝΣΟΝ ΑΛΕΞ  
 ΠΕΡΥΤΙΑΚΟΝΙ

1. ΠΑΣΝ, l. ΠΑΣΟΝ. — 4. ΠΕΡΥΤ, l. ΠΕΡΥΔ.

My brother<sup>(1)</sup> Apollo<sup>(2)</sup> the son of my brother Abraham, the father of the infirm<sup>(3)</sup>, our brother Alex(ander)<sup>(4)</sup>, the attendant.

## 3. Limestone stela (pl. XV, 4, right).

ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩΗΡ[Ε  
 ΠΕΠ[Ν]Α Ε[ΤΟΥΑ  
 ΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΑΣ  
 ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ  
 5 ΑΠΑ ΩΡ ΠΕΥ  
 ΩΗΡΕ ΑΥΜ  
 ΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΥ Ν  
 ΣΟΥ ΝΣΟΥ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch; Apa Or, their son<sup>(5)</sup>, went to his rest on the day on the day (*sic*)<sup>(6)</sup>.

## 4. Limestone block (pl. XXXI, 6).

ΘΩΜΑΣ : ✕ ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ : ΠΕΤΡΟΣ : ΜΑΘΕΟΣ : ✕ <sup>(sic)</sup> ΙΑΚΩΒΒΟΣ ✕ ΙΟΥΔΑΣ : ✕ ΣΙΜΩΝ ΠΚ, ✕ ΣΩΤΗΡ : ✕

Thomas : ✕ Andrew : Peter : Matthew : ✕ James ✕ Jude : ✕ Simon the K(ananaean) ✕ (the) Saviour ✕.

A list of names of apostles carved over the niches where their figures stood. The figures have been chiselled out.

The arrangement is curious, as the block is complete on the left hand and incomplete on the right, and it might have been expected that the Saviour would be in the centre, which with seven on one side he cannot have been.

Further, the order of the names seems capricious and is at variance with all known lists

<sup>(1)</sup> This was the common title for a monk and the possessive pronoun «my» has no personal meaning. ΠΑΣΟΝ merely = *frater*. The abbreviated form ΠΑΣΝ is unusual (cf. *Bull. Inst. fr.*, V, p. 16).

<sup>(2)</sup> The short form ΑΠΛΟ (ΑΠΛΩ) is frequent.

<sup>(3)</sup> Lit. place of the sick (*M. A. F.*, IV, p. 283; cf. LEMM, *Kopt. Misc.*, n° L, p. 1088; CRUM, *Copt. Mon.*, n° 8499).

<sup>(4)</sup> For this abbreviation, cf. n° 140; CRUM, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, n° 386 and ΑΛΞ in n° 6 and 7 of the *Passports* (REVILLOUT, *Actes et Contrats*, p. 105-106).

<sup>(5)</sup> i. e. the spiritual son of the saints invoked, as so frequently on Coptic stelæ.

<sup>(6)</sup> Possibly for ΝΣΟΥΣΟΥ «on the sixth day (of the month)».

(SCHERMANN, *Propheten und Apostellegenden*, T. U., xxxi, p. 198-239). Lists of the Apostles' names are also found at Abydos (BOURIANT, *M. A. F.*, I, p. 383-384; MURRAY, *Osireion*, p. 39).

5. Limestone blocks (pl. XXXVI, 1). — Three blocks, parts of a cornice.

λ]ΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΘΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΕΜΑΛΥ ΣΙΒΥΛΛΑ  
ΦΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ

Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, O holy Mary, our <sup>(1)</sup> mother Sibylla, O holy Alexander <sup>(2)</sup>.

6. Limestone block (pl. XXXVI, 7).

... ΗΚΘΗΣ ΠΑΠΑ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΣ ΦΑ ΠΔΙΑΚΩΝ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΦΑΜ

At side :

ΠΑΠΑΚΙΡΕ  
ΦΑΜΩΕ

... <sup>(3)</sup> *papa* George. . <sup>(4)</sup> the deacon Jeremias the carpenter(?). . . (at side) «*papa* Kire, the carpenter(?) <sup>(5)</sup>».

Plate XXXVI, 8; see n° 69.

7. Limestone. Fragment of niche (pl. XXXVII, 3).

Θ  
ΞΝΕΜΩΕΙΡ ΑΠΑ ΖΕΡΜΙΝΕ ΨΟΝ ΑΠΑ

... of Mecheir, Apa Hermine <sup>(6)</sup>, the brother (of?) Apa ...

8. Limestone. Fragment of niche (pl. XXXVII, 4).

... ΕΜΤΟΝ ΜΟΥ Ν[Σ]ΟΥΚΘ ΝΕΜΩΕΙΡ ΧΜ[Γ]  
... ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΤΕΩΝΗ ΑΧΜΤΟΝ Μ[Ο]Υ.—

2. ΝΗ ligatured.

... went to his rest on the 29<sup>th</sup> <sup>(7)</sup> day of Mechir. ΧΜΓ <sup>(8)</sup>.

... Papnoute, the gardener, went to his rest. . .

<sup>(1)</sup> I take ΤΕΜΑΛΥ to be a way of writing Τ̄ΜΜΑΛΥ, and not ΤΜΑΛΥ.

<sup>(2)</sup> Called Alexander the archimandrite in n° 1, 150.

<sup>(3)</sup> Possibly καθηγγητής.

<sup>(4)</sup> Perhaps abbreviation for ΦΑΜΩΕ «the carpenter».

<sup>(5)</sup> The third letter of this word is more like a ϣ than ω.

<sup>(6)</sup> The name is not common. Cf. Abū Salih, ed. Evetts, p. 211, note; *Journ. Theol. St.*, V, p. 566.

<sup>(7)</sup> Or 25<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>(8)</sup> For this much discussed symbol see SMIRNOFF, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1906, p. 1082; HALL, *Greek and Coptic Texts*, p. 2; LEFEBVRE, *Rec. des inscr. grecques-chrétiennes*, p. xxxii, etc.

## 9. Limestone block (pl. XXXVIII, 4). — A stand for water jars.

ΠΑΣ	ΕΝΩ
ΟΝ Κ	Χ ΚΟΥ
ΕΩ	Ι ΠΕ
ΘΣ	Υ Ο
~~~~~	
5 ΟΥΙ	Ν

My brother George the Less : Enoch the Less his brother.

## 10. Limestone stela from room 751 (pl. XLIV, 1, left).

<p> <math>\lambda \star \frac{\lambda}{\iota\varsigma} \star \frac{\omega}{\chi\rho} \star \omega</math>            ✕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΝΝΕΠ̄Ν ΛΥΩ            ΠΧΘΕΙΣ ΝΣΑΡΕΞ ΝΙΜ ΠΩΕ            ΝΣΤΗΥ ΕΝΑΗΤ ΝΣΑΡΕΩ            ΣΗΤ ΕΝΑΩΕΠΕΥΝΑ            5 ΛΡΙΟΥΝΟΘΕΝΝΑ ΜΕΝ            ΤΕΥΥΧΗ ΜΠΜΑΚΑ            ΡΙΟΣ ΕΝΩΧ ΠΝ̄Ο ΠΩΗΡΕ            ΝΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜ/            ΠΝ̄Ο ΝΤΑΒΕΜΤΟΝ ΕΜΟΥ            10 ΝΠΟΥ ΠΑΙ ΕΠΙΦΗ            ΚΥ ΙΝΔ/Σ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΡΟΑ         </p>	<p>           ΑΠΟ ΔΙΟΚ/ ΦΣ ΕΡΕΠΧΟ            ΕΙΣ ΩΕΝΑΣΤΗΥ ΖΑΡΟΥ            ΝΒΤΙΕΜΤΟΝ ΝΑΒ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ            15 ΕΤΝΑΩΩ ΕΝΙΣΖΑΙ ΕΒΕΕΡ            ΠΕ[ΥΜΕΕΥ]ΕΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ            ΕΡΠΕΒΜΕΕΥΕ ΖΩΥ ΖΝΠ            ΕΒΒΗΜΑ ΝΣΟΤΕ ΩΛΕ            ΝΕΣ ΖΑΜΗΝ Θ̄  <div style="text-align: center;"> <math>\frac{\lambda}{\iota\varsigma} \mid \frac{\omega}{\chi\rho\varsigma}</math> </div>           20 ΕΝΩΧ ΥΙΟΣ ΝΙΩΤΕΡΩΥ         </p>
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

11. The ΟΥ of ΕΤΟΥΣ ligatured.

O God of spirits and Lord of all flesh<sup>(1)</sup>, O compassionate, merciful and long-suffering (one), whose mercy is great, have great mercy on the soul of the blessed Enoch, the clerk<sup>(2)</sup>, the son of the blessed Phoebammon, the clerk, who went to his rest on this day...<sup>(3)</sup> Epiphi 23 in the...indiction, in the year 171<sup>(4)</sup>, from Diocletian 503(?)<sup>(5)</sup>. May<sup>(6)</sup> the Lord have compassion on him and give him rest. Every one who shall read

<sup>(1)</sup> Numb. XVI 22, XXVII 16, cf. I *Clem. ad Cor.*, c. 64. Other instances on gravestones, *Ann. Serv.*, VIII, p. 80, 87; HALL, *Greek and Coptic Texts*, p. 3, 7.

<sup>(2)</sup> Νοτάριος, *notarius*, i. e. the secretary of the abbot (LEIPOLDT, *Schenute*, p. 135).

<sup>(3)</sup> There are here two signs which I cannot interpret. At a similar point of the inscription n° 11 (l. 8) are also two signs of which the first seems to be the same as here while the second differs. The sense would seem to require either (1) something equivalent to the *ἡ τις ἐστίν* of similar Greek inscriptions (CRUM, *Coptic Monuments*, n° 8331, 8548), of which the Coptic equivalent would be *ετε...πε* or (2) *ἐν μηνί*. Possibly it may be the day of the week as in LEFEBVRE, *Rec. des inscr. grecques-chrétiennes*, n° 663; but if so, I cannot read it.

<sup>(4)</sup> Of the Hegira = A. D. 787 June 22 — 788 June 10.

<sup>(5)</sup> As Epiphi 23 = July 17 the single missing cipher from the date must be 3 (503 + 284 = 787) and that year was the 10<sup>th</sup> of the indiction (or, in Egypt perhaps the 11<sup>th</sup>, cf. *Bull. Inst. franç.*, VI, p. 109).

<sup>(6)</sup> This optative use of the Praes. II, which is left unnoticed by Stern and Steindorff is frequent in the Bible (I *Reg.*, xx, 13; xxv, 23; II *Reg.*, III, 9, 29, 35; *Job*, xvi, 6; *Sap.*, vii, 15, etc.).

this inscription shall [remember him and]<sup>(1)</sup> God shall remember him also at his fearful judgement seat for ever. Amen. Amen.<sup>(2)</sup>

Enoch son of Nishteroou<sup>(3)</sup>.

# 11. Limestone stela from room 751 (pl. XLIV, 1, right).

...ΠΩΑΝ]ΑΣΤΗΝ	10 ΦΚΓ ΕΡΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΩΑΝΑΣΤ
ΗΝΑΗΤ ΝΖΑΡΕΩΖΗΤ	ΗΒ ΖΑΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΥΤΙΕΜΤΟ[Ν]
ΝΑΩΕΠΕΧΝΑΙ ΑΡΙΟΥ	ΝΑΥ ΖΗΚΟΝΥ ΝΑΒΡΑΣΑΜ } ΙΣΑΚ
ΝΟΘ ΝΝΑ ΜΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ	} ΙΑΚΩΒ ΝΒΤΡΕΨΩΠΕ ΖΗΤΕΚ
5 ΝΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΘΘ	ΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΝΩΕΡΠΜΙΣΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝ
ΕΟΣ ΠΩΝΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ	15 ΑΩΩ ΝΙΣΖΑΙ ΕΒΕΕΡΠΕΧΜΕΥΕ Ν
ΑΠΑ ΚΥΡΕ ΠΝΟ <sup>Τ</sup> ΝΤΑΒΜΤΟΝ	ΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΠΕΒΜΕΥΕ ΖΩΥ ΖΝ
ΝΜΟΥ ΝΠΟΥ ΠΑΙ Λ(?)	ΠΕΒΒΗΜΑ ΝΖΟΤΕ ΩΑΕΝΕΖ ΖΑ
ΘΩ <sup>Ω</sup> Σ ΙΝΔ/ΙΘ ΕΤΟΥ(Σ) ΡΥ ΑΠΟ ΔΙΟΚ/	ΜΗΝ ΘΘ ✠✠✠

9. ΕΤΟΥ written with ΕΤ below and ΟΥ above, both ligatured.

There are probably two lines missing at the top, cf. n° 10.

..... compassionate, merciful, long-suffering, great is his mercy : have great mercy on the soul of the blessed Philotheos, son of the blessed Apa Kyre, the clerk, who went to his rest on this day . . . .<sup>(4)</sup>, Thoth 16<sup>th</sup> (?), in the 15<sup>th</sup> (?) indiction<sup>(5)</sup>, in the year 190<sup>(6)</sup>, from Diocletian 523<sup>(7)</sup>. May the Lord have compassion on him and give him rest in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob<sup>(8)</sup>, and cause him to be in the assembly of the first-born<sup>(9)</sup>. Every one who shall read this inscription shall make remembrance of him and God shall remember him also at his fearful judgement seat for ever. Amen. Amen.

<sup>(1)</sup> Restored from n° 11.

<sup>(2)</sup> 4Θ = 99 = *ἄμην* by numerical summation of the letters, A. Z., XXIV, p. 102.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. M. A. MURRAY, *Saqqa Mastabas*, part I, 1905, p. 29 (also BIONDI, *Ann. Serv.*, VIII, p. 94). ΝΙΩΤΕΡΟΟ[Υ] is regarded by Mr. Crum as probably a Middle-Egyptian variant of ΝΙΩΣΕΡΩΟΥ (Z. 366). I should be inclined rather to see in the latter a corruption of the former. Crum quotes a late Greek form *νιστερῶος* from Migne. It is a common name in Ptolemaic times under the earlier form *νεχθερωος* (MAHAFFY-SMYLY, *Petrie Pap.*, III) and still earlier *νεχθῆρωος* = *nht-f erw* «He (*i. e.* Horus) is mightier than they (*i. e.* his enemies)». Cf. HESS, *Rosetta*, p. 47 and SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. trav.*, XXVIII, p. 183.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. note 2, above.

<sup>(5)</sup> The reading appears to be «19<sup>th</sup> indiction», but as the indiction was a cycle of 15 years, this is impossible (save in the exceptional case, *Pap. Lille*, p. 108; cf. WILCKEN, in *Archiv Papyrusforsch.*, II, p. 135). Hence we must assume an error on the part of the stonemason, probably for 16 as A. D. 807 was the 15<sup>th</sup> year of the indiction.

<sup>(6)</sup> Of the Hegira = A. D. Nov. 27. 805 — Nov. 16. 806.

<sup>(7)</sup> A. D. 807 (Aug. 29) — 808 (Aug. 28). The 21<sup>st</sup> Thoth was therefore Sep. 18. 806 or 807, as the two reckonings do not agree.

<sup>(8)</sup> A common phrase; cf. *Ann. Serv.*, IV, p. 163; VII, p. 80; HALL, *Greek and Coptic Texts*, p. 3, 8; A. Z., XLIV, p. 72; LEFEBVRE, *Inscr. grecques-chrétiennes*, n° 48, 67, etc. The symbol between the names is often used = *καί* (here ΜΝ) in MSS of the Byzantine period, and cf. LEFEBVRE, *l. l.*, n° 69, 641-642.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Hebr.*, XII, 23.





18. Limestone block (pl. XLV, 3) (below). — Inscribed along two sides.

ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ  
ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch.

19. Limestone block, from room 1706 (pl. XLV, 4) (top). — Carved on two sides.

In relief :

a. ΠΩΤΝΕΞ

Incised :

b. ΚΥΡΑΚΟΣΜ...

ΠΕΤΡΕ ΚΟΥΙ

a. The father (?) of...

b. Cyricus... (?)... Peter the Less.

20. Limestone, two blocks from room (?) (pl. XLV, 4) (below). — Incised on the edge.

a. ΩΗΡΕ ΠΕ ΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ

b. † ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΤΡ/

...Son, O Holy Spirit ...Apa Jeremias archimandrite.

21. Limestone stela, fragment (pl. XLV, 5) (above).

...ΛΒ ΑΠΑ ΙΕ...

.....ΑΠΑ ΜΙΧ...

.....ΙΟΤΕ ΜΠΑΤ...

.....Α ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤ...

5 ...ΠΑΣΟΝ ΨΟΙ ΝΤΑϸ .

.....ΜΠΑΨΟΝΣ ϸΘ...

.....ΜΟϸ(?) ...

.....

[O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit], Apa Je[remias...], Apa Mich[ael ..... our] fathers the pat[riarchs  
..... Ap]a Papnoute ..... my brother Shoi who [went to his rest on the — day] of Pashons. Amen<sup>(1)</sup>.

22. Limestone stela (pl. XLV, 5) (below left).

✱ ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕ

ΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛ[ΛΒ

ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ

ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΑΡΙ

5 ΟΥΝΑ ΜΕΤΕϸ

ΗΧΗ ΜΠΑΣΟΝ

ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΝΤ

.....

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. n° 10 (p. 31, note 1). The fragment of the lowest line indicates that a second person was commemorated on the same stela.

5. The stone mason seems first to have cut the middle stroke of  $\aleph$  the wrong way and then corrected it.

$\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi$ , l.  $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\psi$ .

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch : have mercy on the soul of my brother Jeremias who [went to his rest . . . .].

23. Limestone stela (pl. XLV, 5) (below right).

\*  $\pi\omega\tau\ \pi\omega(?)$  . . .

$\pi\epsilon\pi\eta\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$  . . .

$\tau\epsilon\eta\mu\alpha\gamma\ \mu\alpha$  . . .

$\tau\epsilon\eta\mu\alpha\gamma\ \varsigma\upsilon\beta$  . . .

5  $\pi\epsilon\eta\iota\omega\tau\ \alpha\pi\alpha$  . . .

$\pi\epsilon\eta\iota\omega\tau\ \alpha\pi\alpha$  . . .

1.  $\pi\omega\tau$ , l.  $\pi\iota\omega\tau$ .

O Father, O Son, O [Holy] Spirit, our mother Ma[ry] . . . , our mother Sib[ylla] . . . , our father Apa . . . . . , our father Apa . . . . .

24. Limestone block (pl. XLV, 6) (above).

$\lambda\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$

$\pi\alpha\iota\alpha\kappa/\ \gamma\epsilon\omega\rho\gamma\epsilon$

. . . The Holy [Spirit] . . . . . the deacon George.

25. Limestone block (pl. XLV, 6) (below).

A  $\pi\psi\lambda\varsigma$

$\gamma\epsilon\omega\rho\gamma\epsilon$

The teacher, George.

The large A probably corresponded to an  $\omega$  on the missing half of the stone. For  $\pi\psi\lambda\varsigma$ , cf. *Ann. Serv.*, VIII, p. 87,  $\pi\psi\lambda\eta\lambda\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\eta$ ; *ibid.*, p. 89,  $\tau\epsilon\pi\psi\iota\chi\eta$ .

26. Limestone block (pl. XLVI, 1).

$\alpha\pi\alpha\ \dot{\iota}\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \ast\ \alpha\pi\alpha\ \epsilon[\eta]\omega\chi$

$\alpha\pi\alpha\ \alpha\mu\beta\rho\omicron$

$\varsigma\iota\omicron\varsigma : \alpha\pi\alpha$

$\gamma\omega\rho : \alpha\pi\alpha$

5  $\pi\omega\theta\omicron\dot{\iota}\ \alpha\pi\alpha$

$\pi\alpha\eta\iota\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$

$\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda$  //

$\gamma\lambda\beta\rho\iota\eta\lambda$  //  $\overline{\chi\mu\gamma}$

\*  $\mu\eta\eta\lambda$

10  $\alpha\pi\alpha\ \varsigma\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$

$\overline{\tau\eta\eta\mu\alpha\gamma\ \mu\alpha}$  //

$\rho\iota\alpha\ \overline{\tau\eta\eta\mu\alpha}$

$\lambda\gamma\ \varsigma\iota\beta\gamma\lambda\alpha$  //

$\pi\pi\alpha\pi\alpha$

15  $\iota\omega\gamma\alpha\eta\eta\eta\varsigma$

$\pi\pi\alpha\pi\alpha\ \pi\epsilon$

$\tau\rho\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\omicron\eta$  //

Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Apa Ambrosius<sup>(1)</sup>, Apa Hor, Apa Pshoi<sup>(2)</sup>, Apa Panisneu<sup>(3)</sup>, Michael, Gabriel,  $\overline{\alpha\mu\tau}$ , Mena<sup>(4)</sup>, Apa Sarmate<sup>(5)</sup>, our mother Mary, our mother Sibylla : the *Papa*<sup>(6)</sup> John, the *Papa* Peter his brother.

27. Limestone stela (pl. XLVI, 2).

<p>✕ ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕ ΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΙΕ ΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΑ 5 ΒΡΙΗΛ ΟΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΠΝ ΙΩΤ ΑΔΑΜ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ Α ΒΕΛ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΖΗΘ ΠΕΝ ΙΩΤ ΙΑΡΕΤ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ Μ ΑΘΟΥΣΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΝΙΟΙ 10 Ε ΝΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΝΕΝΙΟ ΤΕ ΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΠΧΥ ΤΑΒΤΕ ΜΠΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΝΕΝΙΟΤΕ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ 15 ΑΠΑ ΑΝΟΥΠ ΑΠΑ ΦΙΒ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΑΠΑ ΣΟΥ</p>	<p>ΡΟΥΣ ΑΠΑ ΙΩΣΑΝΗΣ Μ ΠΑΚΕ ΑΠΑ ΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΑΠΑ ΑΒΡΑΔΑΜ ΠΧΩΩ 20 ΡΕ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΠΟΥΟ ΕΙΝ ΝΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΑ ΤΑΝΕΥΡΑΝΑ ΑΡΙΟΥΝΑ ΜΕΝ ΑΜΑ ΣΟΥΣΑΝΝΑ ΤΜΑΛΥ ΝΤΝΩΜΜΟΝΗ 25 ΑΣΜΤΟΝ ΕΜΜΟΣ ΝΣΟΥ //ΚΒ//ΝΠΑΩΝΕ ΝΔΙΚ/ ΙΒ// ΤΕΣΣΩΝΕ ΜΑΡΤΟΥΡΙΑ ΑΣ ΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΣΟΥ//Η// ΕΝ 2ΑΘΩΡ ΝΔΙΚ/ ΙΩΣΗΦ 30 ΠΕΥΩΗΡΕ ΑΣΜΤΟΝ ΜΜ ΟΗ ΝΣΟΥ</p>
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

1. ΩΗΡΕ, l. ΩΗΡΕ. — 5. ο, l. θ. — 9. ΙΟΙ, l. ΙΟΥ. — 11. ΠΧΥ, l. ΠΧΥ. — 12. ΠΒΕΣ, l. ΠΡΕΣ.

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias<sup>(7)</sup>, Apa Enoch, the holy Michael, the holy Gabriel, the holy Mary<sup>(8)</sup>, our father Adam, our father Abel, our father Seth, our father Jared<sup>(9)</sup>, our father Methuselah, our fathers the Patriarchs, our fathers the Apostles, the twenty four Elders<sup>(10)</sup>, our fathers (the) martyrs, our father Apa Apollo<sup>(11)</sup>,

<sup>(1)</sup> Ambrosius and Hor are coupled together also in n° 37 and 76, and in a Leipzig Ms. (CRUM, *P. S. B. A.*, XXIX, p. 290). They seem to be connected with Upper Egypt (*ibid.*).

<sup>(2)</sup> Probably the well known disciple of Macarius the Great, Z. 48, etc.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. GEORGI, *De mirac. S. Coluthi et reliq. act. S. Panesniu.*, 1793.

<sup>(4)</sup> This name is inserted, evidently later, in smaller letters. No doubt, the military Saint of Alexandria.

<sup>(5)</sup> This Apa occurs also in n° 36, 75, 76. The absence of his brother Pamoun renders it unlikely that he is the Martyr of CRUM, *B. M. Cat.*, n° 344. Perhaps he was a local Saint.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Πρεσβύτερος*. CRUM, *B. M. Cat.*, p. 478, n.

<sup>(7)</sup> This stela has an unusually long list of Saints invoked. The two local saints, Jeremias and Enoch, have their customary place, immediately after the Trinity and before the Archangels and the Virgin.

<sup>(8)</sup> In these invocations the Virgin usually comes after the Archangels. Perhaps it indicates the continuance of an ancient practice begun long before the Council of Ephesus (431).

<sup>(9)</sup> *Gen.*, v, 15-20.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Apoc.*, iv, 4.

<sup>(11)</sup> Apollo, Anoup and Phib are the patron Saints of the monastery of Bawit (CLÉDAT, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, *Mém. Inst. franç. Arch.*, XII, *passim*). For Apollo, cf. CRUM, *A. Z.*, XL, p. 60. He is the saint commemorated in the *Synaxarium* on Paophi 25 and Mechir 5 (cf. CRUM, *P. S. B. A.*, XXIX, p. 291) and Phib is his companion, ar. Abib, of the former date, as is proved by the Calendar in CLÉDAT, *u. s.*, p. 5, where Phib is commemorated on that day.

Apa Anoup, Apa Phib, Apa Makare <sup>(1)</sup>, Apa Sourous <sup>(2)</sup>, Apa John of Pake <sup>(3)</sup>, Apa Moses <sup>(4)</sup>, Apa Abraham the strong <sup>(5)</sup>, Apa Apollo the Light <sup>(6)</sup> (and) all the Saints according to their names; have mercy on Ama Susanna the mother of the great(?) convent <sup>(7)</sup>, who went to her rest on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of Payni in the twelfth indiction. Her sister Martyria went to her rest on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of Athyr in the indiction. Joseph their son went to his rest on the... day.

28. Limestone stela (pl. XLVI, 3).

ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ Π	ΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ
ΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΕ	ΠΕΝΣΟΝ ΦΙΒ ΑΧΕΜΤΟΝ
ΝΙΩΤ ΑΤΑΜ ΠΕΝΙΩ	ΜΜΟΥ ΝΣΟΥΜΝΤΑΣΕ Μ
Τ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΕΝΙΩ	ΕΣΟΥΡΗ ΓΕΩΡΚΕ ΠΕΡ
5 Τ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡ	10 ΙΩΤ ΛΒΜΤΟΝ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, our father Adam, our father Michael, our father Gabriel, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch: our brother Phib went to his rest on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of Mesore. George his father went to his rest.

39. Limestone stela, a bloe in floor in 762, stair south-east of cloister (pl. XLVII, 1).

ΠΕΧΣΠ	ΩΠΚ ΜΩΤΚ ΡΑΩΤΚ ΤΩΩΚ ΟΥΑ
✠ ΠΩΤ ΜΝΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΝΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥ	ΑΚ ΣΩΤΜ ΘΥΙΟΚ ΝΠΚΡΙΝΕ [ΜΠ]Ρ
✠	10 ΣΑΙΟ ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΑΡΟΥΚΩ ΝΗΤΝ
ΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΑΠΑ	ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΤΝΩΝΣ ΣΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ
ΠΑΝΗΣΝΗΥ ΑΜΑ ΣΙΒΗΛΛΑ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΩΛ	ΠΕΤΝΑΩΩ ΝΝΙΣΣΑΙ ΑΡΙΠΑΜΕ
5 ΛΩ ΠΝΙΩΤ ΑΑΔ ΜΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ	ΥΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΙΡΨΕΡΝΟΒΕ ΠΠΑΠΑ
ΑΡΙΠΜΕΥΕ ΜΠΚΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΡΨ ΜΠΝΙΩΤ	[Α]ΑΑ ΠΡΨΩΩ ΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ
ΑΑΔΑΜ ΚΑΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΜΗΗ	15 ΑΜΗΗ ΦΑΟΦ ΚΓ ΙΝΔ / ΙΕ

The Christ.

<sup>(1)</sup> Amid the numerous Saints of this name it is difficult to be sure which is meant. As far as one can judge, the invocation is addressed to Saints of Upper Egypt and if so, Makare of Egypt and he of Alexandria may be excluded. On the other hand the famous Bishop of Tkooow (*M. A. F.*, IV, p. 92) would be quite within the district, or it may be one of the less known ones e. g. the martyr celebrated on Tybi 27 (Wüstenfeld, and Abu Salih, 77 a(?)) or the ΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ of the Bawit Calendar (u. s.) under Pashons 23, or the martyr «of Menuf» (Malan, on Payni 5, cf. GUIDI, *Synax. Ethiop.* for that day).

<sup>(2)</sup> Apa Sourous is occasionally invoked elsewhere; cf. *Bull. Inst. fr.*, III, p. 85; DAVIES, *Der el Gebrawi*, II, p. 46; *Rec. tr.*, V, p. 63. Who he is I do not know, unless perhaps he be the monk whom Pachom chose to be head of his monastery at Pakhnoum near Esne (AMÉLINEAU, *Vie de Pakhôme*, p. 78).

<sup>(3)</sup> This name occurs also in Davies u. s. pl. 29 (ΠΡΜΠΑΚΕ). Mr. Crum has given me a reference to Bock, *Matériaux*, p. 38, n° 50, from Gebel et-Teir (ΙΩΣ. ΜΠΑΚΗ) and tells me that he is found on a graffito at Denderah (ΙΩΣ. ΜΠΑΚΕ, unpublished), and that the name of the place occurs in a Ms. in the Rylands Coll. and on a fragment in the British Museum, and adds «I should say it all points to this John being a local Saint in the Eshmunain-Siut district and to ΠΑΚΕ being a place thereabouts»; cf. also *Ann. Serv.*, IX, p. 221.

<sup>(4)</sup> Probably the archimandrite of the monastery near Abydos (CRUM in MURRAY, *Osireion*, p. 39).

<sup>(5)</sup> An Abraham distinguished by this epithet seems to be elsewhere unknown. It does not seem appropriate either for the hermit disciple of Pachom (*Synax. Paophi* 30), or for the head of the monastery of Der Hadah (AMÉLINEAU, *Géogr.*, p. 313).

<sup>(6)</sup> I have not identified this Apollo the Light (*lux*). The name occurs again on a Calendar of Saints' festivals recently discovered at Sakkara.

<sup>(7)</sup> The mason has blundered and made a letter which resembles ω at first sight but is probably ο plus another letter. If so, it must be σ. What or where the «great convent» was we do not know. There is no other trace of a convent in these inscriptions and the title ΤΜΑΛΥ precludes almost any other meaning being given to ΜΟΝΗ.

✠ O Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Apa Panisneu<sup>(1)</sup>, Ama Sibylla, Apa Apollo, our father David<sup>(2)</sup>, and all the Saints: remember all the race of our father Adam, forgive us our sins, Amen. . . . thyself(?), examine thyself(?)<sup>(3)</sup>, be contented(?)<sup>(4)</sup>, control thyself alone(?), obey, be humble<sup>(5)</sup>, judge not, condemn not<sup>(6)</sup>, forgive that you may be forgiven and that you may live in God.

Whoever shall read these words, remember me the sinner the *Papa* David who cries out «Forgive me». Amen. Paophi 23 indiction 15(?).

### 30. Limestone stela (pl. XLVII, 2).

✠ ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ	ΛΥΕΜΤΟΝ ΜΟΥ ΝΟΥ//ΔΙ
ΕΤΟΥΛΒ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ	ΜΕΣΟΥΡΗ ΖΗΝΟΥΙΡΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ
ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΤΕΝΜΑΥ ΜΑ	ΙΩΣΑΝΗΣ// ΛΥΕΜΤΟΝ ΜΟ
ΡΙΑ// ΑΜΑ ΣΙΒΥΛΑ ΠΕΝΣΟ	Υ ΝΟΥΟΧΟΥΤΚΛ ΝΕΜΩ
5 Ν ΕΝΩΧ ΠΩΕΝΠΑΣΩΜ	10 ΙΡ ΘΥ

7. The last two letters of ΙΡΗΝ and the last three of ΖΑΜΗΝ ligatured. — 9. ΝΟΥΟ, l. ΝΟΥ. — 10. ΘΥ, l. Θ.

✠ O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, our mother Mary, Ama Sibylla<sup>(7)</sup>; our brother Enoch the son of Pachom went to his rest on the 1<sup>st</sup> day<sup>(8)</sup> of Mesore in peace, Amen; John went to his rest on the 24<sup>th</sup> day<sup>(9)</sup> of Mechir. Amen<sup>(10)</sup>.

### 31. Limestone stela (pl. XLVII, 3) (XV, 4), (left).

ΠΩΤ ΠΩ	10 ΠΕΝΣΟΝ ΠΕΤ
ΗΡΕ ΠΕΠ	ΡΕ ΠΕΥΩΗΡΕ
ΝΑ ΕΤΟΥ	ΠΩΕΝΑΠΑ ΕΝΩ
ΛΑΒ ΖΑΜΗ	Χ ΛΥΚΑΣΜΜΑ
5 Ν ΜΙΧΑΗΛ Γ	ΕΞΡΑΙ ΝΟΥ ΝΣ
ΛΒΡΙΗΛ ΑΠ	15 ΟΥΔΟΥΤ ΣΑΩΒΕ
Α ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ	ΝΠΑΩΝΙ ΖΗΝΟΥΙ
ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ	ΡΗΝΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ
ΑΜΑ ΣΙΒΥΛΛΑ	

13. ΣΜΜΑ, l. ΣΩΜΑ.

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Amen. Michael, Gabriel, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Ama Sibylla: our

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. n° 26 (p. 36, note 3).

<sup>(2)</sup> David the King, invoked no doubt by reason of the deceased's name being also David.

<sup>(3)</sup> L. ΜΟΥΤΚ.

<sup>(4)</sup> L. ΡΑΩΤΚ; cf. *Hebr.*, xiii, 5 (sah.).

<sup>(5)</sup> = ΘΕΒΙΟΚ.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. PEYRON, *Lex.*, ΣΛΕΙΟ rarely used for ΤΣΛΕΙΟ.

<sup>(7)</sup> Ama Sibylla is one of the most frequent names in these invocations. No historical female saint of that name is known, and it seems unlikely that any woman, however saintly, would be so constantly invoked in a monastery. Perhaps the Sibyl is meant, who was regarded as the authoress of the Sibylline Oracles, most of which probably had their origin in Alexandria. In a passage from a «History of the discovery of Christ's tomb» at Turin (cf. LEMM, *Kl. Kopt. Stud.*, p. 431, 522) she is regarded as a prophetess and is styled the sister of the biblical Enoch, who as the reputed author of the Book of Enoch, had also a great prophetic name.

<sup>(8)</sup> ΜΟΥΛΙ, note the bohairic form for sah. ΜΟΥΛ.

<sup>(9)</sup> Instead of writing out ΧΟΥΤΑΥΤΕ the scribe has stopped short at ΧΟΥΤ and then added the figures 24.

<sup>(10)</sup> ΘΥ, doubtless a mason's blunder for Θ = 99. Cf. n° 10 (p. 31, note 2).

brother<sup>(1)</sup> Peter, their son<sup>(2)</sup>, the son<sup>(3)</sup> of Apa Enoch, laid down his body...<sup>(4)</sup> on the 27<sup>th</sup> day of Payni in peace. Amen.

32. Limestone stela (pl. XVII, 4).

ΠΙΩΤ-ΠΩΗΡΕ	ΠΕΥΩΗΡΕ ΛΥΚΑ
ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ	ΣΩΜΑ ΕΞΡΑΙ Ν̄ΣΟΥ
ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΑ	ΧΟΥΧΟΜΤΕ ΜΠΑ
ΕΝΩΧ Τ̄ΕΝΜΑΛΥ	10 ΩΝΕ Ζ̄ΝΟΥΕΙΡΗΗ
5 ΜΑΡΙΑ' Τ̄ΕΝΜΑΛΥ	ΖΑΜΗΗ
ΣΙΒΛΛΑ' ΑΠΑ ΩΟΙ	✠

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, our mother Mary, our mother Sibylla<sup>(5)</sup> : Apa Shoi (?)<sup>(6)</sup> their son, laid down his body on the 23<sup>rd</sup> <sup>(7)</sup> day of Payni in peace. Amen.

33. Limestone stela (pl. XLVII, 5).

ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ	Ν̄ΣΟΥ ΧΟΥΤΛΥΤΕ Ν̄
ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ ΑΠΑ ΙΕ	ΜΩΙΡ Ζ̄ΝΟΥΕΙΡΗ
ΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ	ΝΗ ΖΑΜΗΗ
ΑΝΟΥΠ ΠΣΙΟΥΡ	✠
5 ΛΥΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΥ	

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch : Anoup, the eunuch<sup>(8)</sup>, went to his rest on the 24<sup>th</sup> day of Mechir in peace. Amen.

34. Limestone stela from the east end of the corridor n° 756 (pl. XLVIII, 1).

✠ Π̄Ν̄ΣΟΝ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ Π  
 Ω̄ΝΨΑΣ ΜΗΝΑ · ΙΩ  
 ΣΗΦ ΚΟΥΙ ḠΧΩΡ̄ΜΑ  
 ΒΙΚΤΩΡ Π̄ΜΑΧΟΝ  
 5 Ν̄ΤΟΝ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ  
 ΜΕΝΑΧ Π̄Ν  
 ΑΠΑ ΚΙΡΕ ΚΟΥΙ 9

Our brother Victor, the son of the teacher Mena : Joseph the less...<sup>(9)</sup>, Victor the...<sup>(10)</sup>, George...<sup>(11)</sup>, Apa Kire the less.

<sup>(1)</sup> *i. e.* the monk.

<sup>(2)</sup> *i. e.* the (spiritual) son of the Saints invoked.

<sup>(3)</sup> *i. e.* the bodily son of an Apa Enoch (not the same as the one invoked), who had been married and had a family before he entered the monastery.

<sup>(4)</sup> I do not know what ΝΟΥ means here.

<sup>(5)</sup> The forms of this name vary much, see Index.

<sup>(6)</sup> ΩΟΙ, l. ΩΟΪ; cf. n° 21; in *Bull. Inst. fr.*, III, p. 85, ΠΩΟΙ is written for ΠΩΟΙ.

<sup>(7)</sup> ΧΟΥΧΟΜΤΕ = ΧΟΥΤΩΟΜΤΕ; cf. *C. P. R.*, II, n° XLVIII, 5.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. CLÉDAT, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, p. 121.

<sup>(9)</sup> Perhaps ΕΧΩΡ̄Μ for the more correct ΠΡΕΧΩΡ̄Μ «the driver» (cf. ROBINSON, *Apoc. Gosp.*, p. 20, l. 24-5).

<sup>(10)</sup> L. [ΠΕ]Ν̄ΣΟΝ (?).

<sup>(11)</sup> L. ΜΟΝΑΧ[ΟC] (?).

## 35. Limestone block (pl. XLVIII, 2).

ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕ  
 ΠΝΕΥ ✕ ΜΑ ΕΤ  
 ΟΥΛΛΒ ΙC ΠΕΧC  
 ΑΡΙΟΥΝΑ ΜΝΤΕ  
 5 ΨΙΧΗ ΝΙCΑΚ ΜΝΚΙ  
 ΡΙΚΟC ΝΤΕΤΙΓΕ  
 ΡΙΛΕ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Jesus the Christ : have mercy on the soul of Isaac and Cyricus . . . . .

## 36. Limestone block (pl. XLVIII, 3).

✕ ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ  
 ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗ  
 ΜΙΑC ✕ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ✕  
 ΑΠΑ CΑΡΜΑΤΑ ✕ ΑΠΑ  
 5 ΑΜΒΡΟCΙΟC ✕ ΑΠΑ ΖΩΡ  
 ΑΠΑ ΠΩΟΙ ✕ ΑΠΑ ΠΑ  
 ΝΙCΝΗΥ ✕ ΖΑΜΗΝ ✕ ΧΜΓ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Apa Sarmata<sup>(1)</sup>, Apa Ambrosius, Apa Hōr, Apa Pshoi, Apa Panisneu. Amen. χμγ<sup>(2)</sup>.

## 37. Limestone stela, fragment from room 713 (pl. XLVIII, 4). — Greek.

. . . . . ΑΓ  
 . . . Α ΕΝ Κ ΑΝ  
 [ΑΠ]ΑΥCΟΝ ΑΥ  
 ΤΙΝ ΕΝ ΙΡΙΝΙ Α  
 5 ΜΙΝ ✕

1, 2. L. ἀγαπητά (1. ἡ) ἐν κυρίῳ(?). — 3, 4. L. αὐτήν ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀμην.

. . . beloved(?) in the Lord(?), give her rest in peace. Amen.

## 38. Limestone stela, fragment (pl. XLVIII, 5).

ΕΤ]ΟΥΛΛΒ ΑΠ[Α  
 Ε]ΝΩΧ Α[ΠΑ  
 ΨΗΖ  
 ΑΠ

. . . Holy [Spirit], Ap[a Jeremias, Apa E]noch, A[pa . . . .

<sup>(1)</sup> For all the saints invoked here, cf. n° 26, notes.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. n° 8, note 8.

## 39. Limestone stela (pl. XLVIII, 6).

✠ ΑΠΑ ΑΝ  
 ΠΩΟΡΠ̄ Ν̄  
 ΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ  
 (?)  
 ΙΝ ΑΠΑ ΖΝΤ

Apa An. . . . . the first. . . . . went forth [in the] Apa's cell(?)<sup>(1)</sup> in the. . . .

## 40. Limestone stela (pl. XLVIII, 7).

✠ ΠΩΤ ΠΩΡ	ΜΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ
ΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΒ	ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ
ΠΝΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΙΕ	ΜΗΝΑ ΝΤΑϞ
ΡΕΜΙΑΣ ΠΝΕ(?)	10 ΕΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟϞ
5 ΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΕΝ	ΝΣΟΥ ΚΘ ΦΑΜ̄
ΩΧ ΑΡΗΟΥΝΑ	. . . . . ΙΝΔ.

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, our father Apa Jeremias, our father Apa Enoch : have mercy on the soul of the blessed Mena who went to his rest on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of Phamenoth . . . . indiction.

## 41. Limestone stela from room 744 (pl. XLVIII, 8).

✠ ΠΩΤ ΜΕΝΠΩΗΛΙ ΜΕΠΕ . . .  
 ΕΤΟΕΕΒ ΑΠΑ ΕΡΜ . . .  
 ΑΠΑ ΕΙΝΩΧ ΑΠ[Α . . .  
 ΑΡΙΟΥΝΕΕΙ ΜΕΝ . . .  
 5 ΝΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ Μ . . .  
 ΣΕΜΤΑΝ ΜΑΣ . . .  
 ΩΡ ΖΑΜΗΝ . . .

O Father and the Son and the Holy [Spirit], Apa Jeremias(?), Apa Enoch, Apa. . . . : have mercy on [the soul] of the blessed M. . . . , she went to her rest [on the — day of Me]chir. Amen <sup>(2)</sup>.

## 42. Limestone stela from room 710 (pl. XLIX, 1).

✠ ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ Ε  
 ΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ Α  
 ΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΠΑΡΧΗΑΓΓΕ  
 ΛΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΘΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙ  
 5 Α ΑΠΑ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΠΑΡΧΗ  
 ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, O Archangel Michael, O holy Mary, Apa Gabriel the archangel, all the Saints <sup>(3)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> L. ΤΡΙΝΑΠΑ(?), see n° 48. Perhaps this is a form of grave stone. Cf. n° 132.

<sup>(2)</sup> The dialect is Middle Egyptian, the only unusual spelling being ΕΤΟΕΕΒ for ΕΤΟΥΕΕΒ.

<sup>(3)</sup> Below a space of 4 3/4 lines is left blank, evidently never used.

## 43. Limestone stela (pl. XLIX, 2).

✠ ἸϞ ΠΕΧ̄ΡϞ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΝΙΑϞ  
 ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΘΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ  
 ΑΜΑ ΣΙΒΥΛΛΑ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΙΕ  
 ΝΕΤΟΥΛΛΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΡΟΕΙϞ Ε

✠ Jesus the Christ, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, the holy Mary, Ama Sibylla, Apa Paie(?), all the Saints, watch over <sup>(1)</sup>.

## 44. Limestone stela (pl. XLIX, 3).

✠ ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠ̄ΝΑ ΕΤ	ΤΟΛΟϞ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ
ΟΥΛΛΑΒ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΙΕ	ΑΜΑ ΝΟΝΕ ΤΕΥΨΕ
ΡΗΜΙΑϞ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΠΕΝ	ΡΕ ΑΣΚΑΣΩΜΑ
ΝΙΩΤ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ	10 ΖΡΑΙ ΣΟΥΧΟΥ
5 Τ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΑΜΑ ΣΙΒ	ΚΑ ΝΕΨΙΡ
ΥΛΑ ΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΝΑΠΟϞ	

11. ΝΕΨΙΡ, i. ΜΕΨΙΡ.

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, our father Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, our father Michael, Gabriel, our mother Mary, Ama Sibylla, the fathers the holy Apostles : Ama None, their daughter, laid down her body on the 24<sup>th</sup> of Mechir.

## 45. Limestone block (pl. XLIX, 4).

✠ ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠ̄ΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙ[ΑΣ  
 ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΑΡΙΟΥΝΑ Μ̄Ν ΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΝΠΑΣΟΝ  
 ΚΛ]ΟΥΧ ΝΤΑΨΜΤΟΝ ΜΟϞ ΝΣΟΥΖ ΠΑΧΩΝ  
 ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΕΨΩΝΕ ΑΣΜΤΟΝ ΜΟϞ ΝΣΟῩ ΠΑ  
 5 ΧΩΝ ΙΝΔΙΚ Α ΤΕΡΜΟΥΤΕ ΤΕΥΜΑ  
 ΑΥ ΑΣΜΤΟΝ ΜΟϞ ΝΣΟΥ

2. Η and Ν ligatured. — 4. Ν and Μ ligatured.

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, have mercy on the soul of my brother Colluthus who went to his rest on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of Pachon : Mary his sister went to her rest on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of Pachon in the first indiction : Termoute their mother went to her rest on the day <sup>(2)</sup>.

## 46. Limestone block (pl. XLIX, 5) (above).

✠ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗ[ΜΙΑϞ]  
 ἸϞ Ω ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ  
 ΠΑΤΕΡΜ[ΟΥΤΕ]

... Gabriel, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch . . . . . Paterm(oute).

<sup>(1)</sup> The name of the person for whom the stela was prepared was never filled in, three lines below the inscription being left blank.

<sup>(2)</sup> The inscription is left incomplete.

The left half of the stela is missing. On it must have been a large  $\lambda$  corresponding to the  $\omega$  on the right half.

47. Limestone block (pl. XLIX, 5) (below).

ΜΙΧΛΗ[λ]  
ΠΑΠΑ ΠΑΥΛΕ" ΧΜ[Γ  
.... Michael .... *Papa* Paul ΧΜΓ.

48. Limestone, from room 700 K.

ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕ  
ΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ ΑΠΑ  
ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ  
ΤΜΜΑΛΥ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΗΜ  
5 ΑΛΥ ΣΙΒΛΛΑ ΠΕΝΣΟΝ Π  
ΠΑΠΑ ΚΛΟΥΧ ΠΑΤΡΙΝΑ  
ΠΑ ΛΧΕΜΤΟΝ ΜΟΥ ΝΣΟΥΜ  
ΤΗ" ΝΝΜΩΙΡ ΖΝΟΥΙΡΗΝ  
ΖΑΜΗΝ ΙΝΔΙΚ Ε

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, our mother Mary, our mother Sibylla : our brother the *Papa* Colluthus of the Apa's Cell (?) <sup>(1)</sup>. He went to his rest on the 10<sup>th</sup> day of Mechir in peace. Amen. The 5<sup>th</sup> indiction.

49. Limestone.

.... ΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ	.. ΟΥΕΡ]ΦΕΝΟΥΧΕ ΛΧΜΤΟΝ
.... Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ	.. ΦΑΡΜ]ΟΥΤΕ" ΠΝΣΟΝ ΔΑΛΥΕΙΑ
... ΙΕ]ΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ	.... " ΠΝΣΟΝ ΠΑΣ
.... ΠΕΝΣΟΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΩΡΕ	10 ... ΟΥΛ ΛΧΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΥ
5 ... ΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΣΟΥΛ	... Μ ΛΧΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΣΟΥ
... ΕΙΡ]ΗΝΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΝΔΙΚ/5	ΛΧΜ]ΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΙΝΔΙΚ Β

[O Father, O Son, O] Holy Spirit ..... O holy Gabriel ... [Apa] Jeremias, Apa Enoch ..... : our brother

<sup>(1)</sup> Lit. : «he that belongs to the cell of Apa», presumably Apa Jeremias. Cf. n° 91 where Apa alone seems to stand for Apa Jeremias and n° 132; also n° 39 (?). Perhaps the founder's cell (pl. I, 773) was kept as a holy place or chapel with a monk to look after it; his seat there was marked on the pavement, see n° 14. We meet with a similar description in CLÉDAT *Baouît* where (p. 105, 127) ΑΠΑ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ is ΠΩΤ ΝΤΡΙ ΠΑΠΑ «the father of the cell of the Apa» and as the title occurs twice with following text, it is certain no name of the ΑΠΑ is lost or omitted. Among the same inscriptions Gerontius is called ΠΕΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΡΙ (p. 105, 127, and one Abraham p. 120) without further definition and also he is ΠΩΤ ΝΤΡΙ (p. 105), as is also Mes (p. 107, 108). There is also a ΠΩΤ ΝΤ (?) ΔΙΑΚΩΝΙΑ ΝΤΛΙ . . . (p. 105) (cf. LEMM, *Kl. k. Stud.*, p. 435), and on p. 107 a certain Victor is ΠΑΤΡΙ ΝΕΚΟΥΙ «he that belongs to the cell of the children» (the monastery school?). In CRUM (*B. M. Cat.*, p. 478) we find wine allotted to ΤΡΙ ΝΝΕΚΟΥΙ with a Greek equivalent διὰ τῶν μικρῶν παιδίων; and Crum adds in a note another reference to a ΠΩΤ ΝΤΡΙ ΝΕΚΟΥΙ, so that it would seem to have been a recognised title. In a large monastery ΠΙ must have meant a separate building or large room rather than a cell.

Isidore . . . . . went to his rest on the 1<sup>st</sup> day . . . . . [in] peace, Amen, indiction 6 . . . . . [Ouer]shenufe went to his rest . . . . . [Pharm]outhi : our brother David . . . . . : our brother Pas . . . . . Kam]oul(?) went to his rest . . . . . m went to his rest on the . . day . . . . . went to his rest. Indiction(?) 2.

## 50. Limestone.

πΙ]ΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥ  
 Α]ΑΒ" ΘΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΠΑΡΧΑΓ  
 Γ]ΕΛΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕ  
 Α]ΟΣ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ" ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙ  
 5 ΑΣ] ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ" ΑΜΑ ΣΙΒΥΛ  
 ΑΑ Α]ΠΑ ΙΟΥΛ. . . . ΕΝΤΑΛΟΥ

1. ογ written with small ο over the γ. — 6. Final ογ, the same.

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, O holy Mary, O archangel Michael, O archangel Gabriel, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Ama Sibylla, Apa Julius(?)<sup>(1)</sup>.

## 51. Limestone.

. . . . .  
 ΜΤΟ ΝΕΜΜΟΘ Ν  
 ΣΟΥΔΟΥΤΟΥΕ ΕΜ  
 ΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ" ΓΕΩΡ  
 ΓΕ ΠΕΩΩΗΡΕ ΑΨΕΜ  
 5 ΤΟΝ ΕΜΜΟΘ Ν

4. ΩΗΡΕ, Ι. ΩΗΡΕ.

. . . went to his rest on the 21<sup>st</sup> day of Pharmuthi : George his son went to his rest on<sup>(2)</sup>.

On edge of same stone :

† ΠΑΥΛΕ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΗΝΑ

## 52. Limestone.

. . ΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝ.  
 . . . ΥΒΑΒ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ. . .  
 . . . ΙΩΤ ΚΑΒΡΙΗΛ. . .  
 . . . ΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ. . .  
 5 . . . Α ΤΕΝΜΑΥ ΜΑΡΙΑ. . .  
 . . . ΧΕΝ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΕΝΩ. . .  
 . . . ΜΟΥΝ ΑΨΕΜΤΟ  
 . . . . . ΙΓ ΝΕ. . . ΙΡ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, our father [Michael, our] father Gabriel, [Apa] Jeremias, Apa Enoch . . . . . our mother Mary . . . . . my brother Eno[ch] . . . . . went to his rest on the 13<sup>th</sup> [day] of Mechir.

<sup>(1)</sup> Perhaps the well known Saint of Akfahs (*Synax.* Thoth 22).

<sup>(2)</sup> The inscription was left incomplete at the end.

## 53. Limestone.

✠ ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩΗ[ΡΕ Π]  
 ΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ [ΠΕΝΙ]  
 ΩΤ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ Θ[ΑΓΙΑ]  
 ΜΑΡΙΑ" ΑΜΑ ΣΙΒΥ[ΛΑ Λ]  
 5 ΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ"  
 . . . . ΠΕΝCON ΙΕΡ. . .  
 . . . . ΝCΟ[Υ]. . .

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, our father Michael, O holy Mary, Ama Sibylla, Apa Jeremias . . . . . our brother Jer[emias(?)] . . . . . on the day . . . .

## 54. Wood.

✠ ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗ  
 ΜΙΑC" ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΘΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΑΜΑ ΣΙΒΥ  
 ΛΑ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΑΥΕΡΠΟΥ  
 ΩΩ ΝΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΡΙΟΥΝΑ ΜΕΝΤΕ  
 5 ΨΗΧΗ ΝΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΠΑΝΑΥΝ  
 . . . . . ΕΝΤ ΝΤΑΨΕΜΤΟΝ  
 ΝΜΟϢ . . Μ-ΙΖ . . . . . ᾶ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, O holy Mary, Ama Sibylla, all the Saints who have done the will of God : have mercy on the soul of the blessed Panaun . . . . . who went to his rest . . . . 17 . . . . (indiction?) 4.

## 55. Limestone.

. . . . . ΓΑΙ . . . . .  
 . . . . ΝΕΙ . ΥΑΑΒ Ι . . .  
 . . . . ΝCΟΝ ΟΥΕΡΨΕΝΟΥΨΕ  
 . . . . ΒΕ : ΠΕΝCΟΝ ΠΠΑΠΑ ΙCΑΚ  
 5 . . . . ΟΝ ΜΟΒ ΝCΟΥΚΗ"  
 . . . . ΝΔΙΚ/Τ Γ"

. . . . . Gab[riel] . . . . . [all] the Saints . . . . . our brother Ouershenufe . . . . . : our brother the *Papa* Isaac . . . . . went to his rest on the 28<sup>th</sup> day . . . . . indiction 3.

## 56. Limestone from room 700.

. . . . . CΚΑCΩ  
 ΑΖΡΑΕΙ ΚΓ ΠΑCΩΝ  
 C ΞΗΝΟΥΞΗΡΗΝΗ ΑΜ  
 ΗΛ ✠

2. L. ΠΑΨΩΝC. — 4. L. (ΑΜ)ΗΝ.

. . . . . laid (her) <sup>(1)</sup> body down, 23 Pashons, in peace, Amen.

<sup>(1)</sup> If the first letter c is correct, the tombstone must commemorate a woman.

## 57. Limestone fragment from room 700 G.

ΚΩΡ Λ  
ΤΟΝ ΜΟΒ Ν  
Υ"̄"̄ ΝΣΛ

..... Kor, he went to his rest on the 6<sup>th</sup> day of Ha[thor]...

## 58. Limestone from room 700 K.

✕ ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩΙΕ  
ΡΗ ΠΕΠΝΕΟΥΜ  
Λ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΑΡΗΠ  
ΜΕΒΗ ΜΑΡΗΑ ΠΩ  
5 ΕΙΣΑΚ ΝΤΑΣΚ..

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, remember Mary the daughter (? l. ΤΩΝ) of Isaac who laid (down her body) ...

The spelling is very erratic; the necessary corrections are obvious.

## 59. Limestone from room 704.

ΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟ  
ΛΗΛ ΑΠ  
ΠΑ  
ΜΑ ΣΙΒ  
5 Ε ΑΨΕΜ

[O Father, O Son, O] Holy Spirit .... [Mich]ael, Apa [Jeremias], Apa [Enoch], Ama Sibylla : .... e went to his rest .....

## 60. Limestone slabs. — Two, side by side, with continuous inscription, let into floor of cell.

Σ ΧΣ ΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΠΑΛΟΝ ΦΟΙ  
ΗΡ ΜΕΝΘΕΟΤΡΕ ΠΕΨ  
ΩΗΡΕ...ΨΗ.ΝΘΨ

✕ Jesus Christ, watch over my brother Phoi...er<sup>(1)</sup> and Theodorus<sup>(2)</sup> his son.....

## 61. Limestone block from room 705.

ΠΑΥΛΕ ΠΡΨΡΟΕΙΣ

On top edge of same :

ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΛΟΝ ΑΡΩΝ

Paul the watchman.

I, (my)<sup>(3)</sup> brother Aaron.

<sup>(1)</sup> ΦΟΙΣΤΗΡ(?) = *φωστήρ*. — <sup>(2)</sup> ΘΕΟΤΡΕ (cf. n° 89). — <sup>(3)</sup> Cf. n° 2, note 1.

This second line is rudely cut as far as ΠΑ; the last seven letters are added in faint black writing, i. e. they were traced for cutting which the mason never carried out.

62. Limestone slab from room 708.

.....HP̄E ΠEΠ  
ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜ  
ΥΛΛΑ : ΑΜΑ  
Β. .HP̄O. N  
5 ΑΜΜΩΝΙ  
.....  
.Υ.....  
ΝΜΟϢ  
ΔΙ.Η....

[O Father, O] Son, O [Holy] Spirit . . . . Apa Jeremias . . . . [Ama Sib]ylla, Ama . . . . . Ammonius  
. . . . . went to his rest . . . . . indiction (?) 8 (?).

63. Limestone fragment from room 714.

ⲁ  
ⲙⲓⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉⲛ  
ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲛⲣⲟⲟϥ

. . . . . hegumenos (i. εἰσοϋμεν?) . . . my brother Nahroou.

64. Limestone block from room 721.

ΙC ΧC̄ ΒΟΘΙΑ  
ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ἱεϣϣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲁ ἀπολλω ⲡⲁⲡⲙⲁ  
ⲙ ⲛⲟϣωⲙ

Jesus Christ, help <sup>(1)</sup> . . . my brother . . . . Papa Apollo who belongs to the refectory <sup>(2)</sup>.

65. Limestone stela on floor of room 751.

<p>ⲫ ΠΙΩΤ Μ̄ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΕΝ ΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ .ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΠΑΡΧΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΜΗΓΑΒΡΙΝΑ ΑΠΑ 5 ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑC ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΑΠΑ ΝΕCΠΝΗΥ ΑΜΑ CΙΒΛΑ ΝΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΑΥ ΕΡΠΟΥΩΨ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ Μ̄ΠΝΧΟΕΙC 10 ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕΧΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΝΠ̄</p>	<p>ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΝCΟΝ ΚΑΛ ΛΙΝΧ̄ ΠΝΟΤΑΡΙΟC ΝϢ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΝΑ ΝΕΜΑϢ ΞΝ ΝΕΝΤΟΠΟC ΕῩΝ̄ΖΗΤΟΥ 15 ΝΘΕ ΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΜΠΛΥCΤΗC Μ̄Ν ΛΑΖΑΡΟC ΝΤΑϢ̄ ΤΟΝ Μ̄ΜΟϢ ΝΜΗΝΙ ΕΠΙΦΗ Θ̄ ΙΝΔ/ ΙΔ̄ ΕΤΟΥC ΧΡΟΝΟC ..ΗΔΙΑΝΟΥ ΥΟΓ</p>
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

2. L. ΘΑΓΙΑ. — 19. L. ΔΙΟΚΛ]ΗΤΙΑΝΟΥ.

<sup>(1)</sup> = βοήθεια, the substantive used for the verb as happens not infrequently with this word.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. n° 13, 116, 123.

O Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, O holy Mary, O Archangel Michael and Gabriel, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Apa Nesneu, Ama Sibylla, (and) all the Saints who have done the will of God, beseech our Lord on behalf of the soul of our blessed brother Callinicus, the clerk, that He may have great mercy on him in our places <sup>(1)</sup> where he is, as (He had) on the soul of the thief <sup>(2)</sup> and Lazarus. He went to his rest in the month of Epiphi. . <sup>(3)</sup> in the 14<sup>th</sup> indiction, in the year of the epoch of [Diocl]etian 473 (?) <sup>(4)</sup>.

66. On limestone pillar from room 752.

† IC XC POEIC  
ΕΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΣ  
ΦΑΥΩ ΖΑΜΗΝ

Jesus Christ, watch over Philotheos the . . . . <sup>(5)</sup> Amen.

67. Limestone pillar from room 752.

✠ IC XC POEIC  
ΠΕΝΘΟΝ ΙΩ  
CΗΦ ΦΑΜΩΕ  
IC X  
5 ΙΕΡΗ

Jesus Christ, watch (over) our brother Joseph, the carpenter. Jesus Christ . . . . Jere[mias].

68. Incised on edge of fragment of granite bowl from room 752.

. . . ΑΗΛ ✠ ΑΠ . . . .  
. . . [Mich]ael ✠ Ap[a] . . . .

69. Limestone block from room 755 (pl. XXXVI, 8).

a. . ΑΠ]Α ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΠΑΡΧΗΜΑΝΤ ΑΠΑ ΙΩΣΑ . . . .

. . . Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Apa Jeremias the Archimand(rite) <sup>(6)</sup>, Apa Joh[n] . . . .

b. . . ΗΝΑ ΠΙΩΤ ΝΕΤΩΩΝΕ ΑΡΕ . . .

. . . ΗΝΑ; Η and Ν ligatured. ΩΩΝΕ, Ι. ΨΩΝΕ.

[M]ena, the father of the sick, . . . .

<sup>(1)</sup> ΤΟΠΟΙ. It is not easy to see what this means. As the prayer is for a dead man, the ΤΟΠΟΙ can hardly refer to any shrines or monasteries. And yet it is a strange expression for heaven. Even if it has a reference to *John*, xiv, 3, the Greek word would not be expected as it is rendered by ΜΑ in both versions. Besides the phrase is «our *topoi*».

<sup>(2)</sup> *Luke*, xxiii, 42, 43.

<sup>(3)</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> or 29<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>(4)</sup> The only doubtful cipher is the last one; therefore the date must lie between 471 and 479 = A. D. 755-763 and the 14<sup>th</sup> indiction year lying between those limits is 761-762. This would be Diocl. 477-478 and as Epiphi would fall in 468 the last figure was probably Η. However the date is certain within the limits of the 9 years given above.

<sup>(5)</sup> The reading is certain.

<sup>(6)</sup> From this it would seem that Jeremias the Archimandrite is a distinct person from the Founder.

70. Limestone fragment from room 755.

... ΜΗΝΙΣ  
ΠΕΝΣΟΝ ΙΟΥΣΤΕ  
ΜΤΕΚΛΗΣΙ... .

.... our brother Justus <sup>(1)</sup>.... of(?) the church(?) <sup>(2)</sup>....

71. Limestone slab from room 755.

On edge :

\* ΠΕΝΣΟΝ ΠΑΠΑ ΠΑΙΟΥ  
Our brother *papa* Païou <sup>(3)</sup>.

72. Limestone block from room 756.

\* ΠΙΩΤ ΜΗΠΩΗΡΕ  
Π̄Λ ΕΤ ΜΑΓ  
.....  
ΜΝΠ  
5 ΡΗ|||

2. 1. Η̄ΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ (?).

73. Limestone block from room 758.

ΦΙΒ ΝΝΟΙΚΟΝΜΟΜΟΣ ΠΑΜΟΥ!  
Phib to the *œconomi* <sup>(4)</sup>, Pamoui (?) <sup>(5)</sup>.

74. Limestone fragment from room 760.

ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩ...  
ΠΕΠ̄ΝΑ ΕΤ...  
ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗ...  
[ΑΠ]Α ΕΝΩ...

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch ...

75. Limestone from room 761.

ΑΜ...ΑΠΑ  
ΟC ΜΙΧΑΗ...Α

<sup>(1)</sup> Named doubtless after the martyr Justus, for whom see CRUM, *B. M. Cat.*, n° 338.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. n° 11, l. 14 (?).

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. MURRAY, *Osireion*, pl. XXXVII ΠΑΟΥΑ and ΠΑΟΥ.

<sup>(4)</sup> Οἰκονόμος = ̄Π̄Ν̄ΗΙ «steward, a monastery official»; cf. *M. A. F.*, IV, p. 257. LEFEBVRE, *Inscr. gr.-chr.*, p. XXXVII.

<sup>(5)</sup> More probably ΠΑΜΟΥΝ.

ΕΡΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΣΑΡΜΑ  
 ΕΩΡΓΕ ΠΕΧΩΗΡΕ  
 5 ΝΣΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ .  
 ΝΗ ΖΑ.ΗΝ : ΠΕ  
 ΜΩΙΡ'Ε = ΙΝΔΙΚ  
 ϞΟϞ ΝΣΟ

..... the holy (?) Michael ..... Apa Sarma[te] ..... George his son ..... our brother Apollo .....  
 [in] peace Amen : our brother (?) . . . 5<sup>th</sup> [day of] Mechir in the ... indiction ..... entered into  
 his rest on the — day (l. ΜΟϞ ΝΣΟΥ) . . .

76. Limestone block (part of door jamb) from room 770.

ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩΗ[ΡΕ] ΠΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ  
 ΠΕΝΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ  
 ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ✕ ΑΠΑ  
 ΕΝΩΧ ✕ ΑΠΑ ΑΜΒΡΟΣΙΟΣ ✕ ΑΠΑ  
 5 ΖΩΡ ✕ ΠΠΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ✕ ΑΠΑ  
 [C]ΑΡΜΑΤΕ ✕ ΑΠΑ ΦΙΛΑΙΑ ✕ ΑΠΑ Λ  
 . ΠΟΛΛΩ ✕ ΑΠΑ ΦΙΒ ΑΠΑ ΑΝΟΥΠ  
 ϞΙΒΥΛ  
 Λ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, our beloved holy father the holy Apa Jeremias, ✕ Apa Enoch ✕ Apa Ambrosius <sup>(1)</sup> ✕ Apa Hor ✕ the *papa* Apollo <sup>(2)</sup> ✕ Apa Sarmate ✕ Apa Philaia ✕ Apa Apollo <sup>(3)</sup> ✕ Apa Phib, Apa Anoup, Sibylla.

77. Limestone fragment from room 776.

... ΗΡ ΕΝ ΠΕΠΝΕΥΜ | ΑΤΟΥΛΛΒ  
 ... ΛΕ ΤΕΜΑΥ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΑΡΙΠΑΜ  
 ... ΖΑΝΗC

[O Father, O] Son and (l. ΜΝ?) the Holy Spirit (l. ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ) ..... our mother Mary : have mercy on me .... John.

78. On side of door in room 781.

† ΙΩΣΑΝΝΗC ΚΟΥΙ  
 ΦΑΜΩΕ ϞΛ

and in red paint :

ΕΝΩΧ ΠΑΠ.Υ ΦΜΩΕ

John the Less, the carpenter, the teacher (l. ϞΛΖ?); Enoch Papou (?), the carpenter.

<sup>(1)</sup> For most of these Saints see notes to n° 26.

<sup>(2)</sup> Perhaps the same as ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ of n° 27.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. n° 27 (p. 36, note 11).

## 79. Limestone fragment from room 784.

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΚΟΙ

Theodore the Less (κογι).

## 80. Limestone (sebakh).

† ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΝΥΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΒ  
 ΠΝΙΩΤ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΑΡΧΗΑΓΕΛΟΣ  
 ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ  
 ΠΝΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΝΕΤΟΥΛΛΑΒ ΤΗΣ/  
 5 ΚΑΤΑΝΥΟΥΡΑΝ ΔΡΙΟΥΝΑ ΜΝΤΗ  
 ΨΙΧΗ ΝΠΑΙΩΤ ΠΑΠΑ ΓΟΥΣΣ  
 ΚΙΡΟΣ ΝΤΑ Η ΙΧ

4. l. ΤΗΡΟΥ. — 5. l. ΚΑΤΑΝΕΥΡΑΝ. — 7. l. ΝΤΑΧΜΤΟΝ ΜΟΥ(?) ΝΟΥΙΔ.

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, our father Michael the Archangel, our father Gabriel, Apa Jeremias, our father Apa Enoch, all the Saints by their names : have mercy on the soul of my father *papa* . . . kiros <sup>(1)</sup> who entered into his rest (?) on the 14<sup>th</sup> (?) [day (?)] <sup>(2)</sup>.

## 81. Limestone (from sebakh).

ΠΙ[ΩΤ ΠΩΗ]	ΠΣΟΝ ΝΙΩΣΗΦ
ΡΕ Π[ΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥ]	10 ΑΗΚΑΙΩΜΑ Ε
ΑΛΒ ΝΝ	[2]ΡΑΙ ΝΟΥΧΟΥ
ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ	ΤΣΑΩΕ ΜΜΕ
5 ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ✕	ΣΟΡΗ ΞΝΟΥΕΙΡΗ
ΠΕΝΣΟΝ ΠΤΟ	ΝΗ ΣΑΜΗΝ
ΛΕΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΤΕΩ	15 ΚΖ
ΝΗ ΠΕΥΩΗΡΕ	

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit . . . . . Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch ✕ our brother Ptolemy the gardener (l. ΠΑΤΕΩΗΝ), their son, the brother of Joseph, laid (l. ΑΗΚΑΙΩΜΑ) down his body on the 27<sup>th</sup> day of Mesore in peace. Amen. 27 <sup>(3)</sup>.

## 82. Limestone, two blocks (sebakh).

ΠΙΩΤ] ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΑΒ Μ[Ι]ΧΑΗΛ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ  
 ΤΕΜΑΥ]ΜΑΡΙΑ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜ[ΙΑΣ Α]ΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΑΜΑ ΣΙ  
 ΒΥΛΛ] ΠΕΝΣΟΝ ΣΗΧ.ΕΙΑΣ Π. . . ΣΩΡ ΠΕΥΩΗΡΕ  
 ΑΧΜΤ]ΟΝ ΜΟΥ ΝΣΟΝ . . . . . ΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ ΣΕΝΣΥ  
 5 ]Ε ΣΑΜΗΝ

[O Father], O Son, O Holy Spirit, Michael, Gabriel, [our mother] Mary, Apa Jerem[ias, A]pa Enoch, Ama

<sup>(1)</sup> Dioscorus (?).

<sup>(2)</sup> The inscription is badly cut and more than usually erratic in spelling.

<sup>(3)</sup> Probably the age of the deceased. Cf. n° 120.

Si[bylla] : our brother Hech.eias<sup>(1)</sup> the . . . Hor his son, went to his rest on the . . . day (l. cογ) of Pharmuthi in peace (l. 2ΕΝ2ΥΡΗΝΕ?). Amen.

83. Limestone (sebakh).

NMA  
 ΛΛΥ [ΑΠ]Α ΜΙ  
 ΧΑΗΛ ΠΕΝ[CO]N ΤΑΥΡΙΝΕ  
 ΠΕΥΩΗΡ[Ε ΛϷ]ΜΤΟΝ ΜΟ  
 5 Ϸ ΝCΟΥΧΟΥΤΨΙC ΜΜΕCΟΡΗ  
 ΠΕΝCΟΝ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΚΟΥΙ  
 ΠΕϷCΟΝ ΛϷΜΤΟΝ ΜΜ  
 ΟϷ Ν

In red ink : Ϸ ✕ ΙΝΔΙΚ.

. . . . . our mother (ΤΕΝ ΜΑΛΥ?) [Mary, our] mother [Sibylla], Apa Michael : our brother Taurinus, their son, went to his rest on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of Mesore; our brother Peter the Less, his brother, went to his rest on . . . . .

84. Limestone (sebakh).

✕ ΙC ΧC  
 ΑΡΙΟΝ  
 Α ΤΕΨΙΧ  
 Η ΝΑΠΑ  
 5 ΚΙΡΕ ✕

Jesus Christ, have mercy (l. ΑΡΙΟΥΝΑ) (on) the soul of Apa Kire.

85. Limestone fragment (sebakh).

ΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤ  
 ΡΙΑ ΝΤΑCΕΜΤ  
 ΠΑΡΜ2ΟΤΠ  
 ΑΡΘΑ ΤΕCΩΕΕ  
 5 ΙΟC Ν  
 ΟΥ

[O Father, O] Son, O Holy Spirit . . . . . Mary(?) who went to her rest [on the — day of] Pharmuthi . . . . . [M]artha her daughter . . . . .

86. Limestone (sebakh).

"	ΑΡΕΜΙΟΤΠ 2ΝΟΥ
Μ	ΕΙΡΗΝΗ 2ΑΜΗΝ
Π	ΙΝΔΙΚ/Ζ ΠΕΝCΟΝ
Α Π	ΤΕΜ . . . ΑΡΙΠΑΜ . . .
5 C ΛΙΝ CM	

. . . . . Phamenoth in peace Amen, 7<sup>th</sup> indiction; our brother . . . . . remember me . . . .

<sup>(1)</sup> Perhaps 2ΗΛΙCΕΙΑC; cf. MURRAY, *Osireion*, ΕΛΙCΑΙΟC.

## 87. Limestone fragment (sebakh).

ΕΙ ΝΑ  
 ΕΝΝΟ  
 ΑΜ  
 ΟΝΜΟCΝΓ  
 5 ΕΜ2ΟΤΠ  
 ΤΟΝΜΟ  
 ΨΟΝC"  
 ΑΨΕΜΤ  
 ΟΥ"ΖΜ

1. l. ΕΜΤΟΝ Μ. — 2. l. ΟΨ ΝΟ[Υ]. — 4. l. [ΑCΜΤ]ΟΝ ΜΟC ΝC[ΟΥ].

.... went to his rest on the — day ..... went to her rest on the — day of Phamenoth .... went to his (or her) rest .... [Pa]shons : .... he went to his rest on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of ....

## 88. Limestone (sebakh).

✕ ΠΙΩΤ Π  
 ΕΤΝC  
 .ΠΑ  
 .Ν...ΟΥΝΑ ΜΕΝ  
 5 ΤΕΠ[Ψ]ΙΧΗ ΤΙΟCΚΕ Ε  
 ΤΑΨΕΜΤΟΝ ΜΟΨ CΟ  
 ..Ρ. ΝΑΘΩΡ

2. l. [Π]ΕΠΝΕ[ΥΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ].

O Father, O [Son, O Holy Ghost], Apa [Jeremias, Apa E]n[och, have] mercy on the soul of Tioske (Dioscorus?) who went to his rest on the 12<sup>th</sup> (?) day (l. CΟΥΤΕ ?) of Athyr.

## B. — INSCRIPTIONS IN PAINT OR INK, AND GRAFFITI.

## 89. Red paint on limestone from room 753 (pl. XLVI, 4).

ΒΙΚΤ...ΛΚΟΥΜ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ  
 ΖΗΛΙΑC 2Ε[ΛΛ]Ο ΠΕΚΩΤ ΙΩ2ΑΝΗC  
 ΙΩCΗΦ ΠΕCΩΨ ΙΩCΗΦ Π2ΑΜΨΕ  
 ΓΕΩΡΕ ΠΚΑCΕ ΑΒΡΑ2ΑΜ ΑΡΜΑΤΕ  
 5 ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟC ΜΕΝΠΑ[Υ]ΛΕ ΠΕΨCΟΝ  
 ΘΕΟΤΡΕ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ Π...ΠCΕ.  
 ΜΕC ΨΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΚΑCΕ ΑΡΐΠΑΜΕ  
 ΟΥ ΝΑΚΑΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΠΨ  
 ΝΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΠΕΚΩΤ ΚΩ ΝΑΐ ΕΒΟΛ CΕ  
 10 ΙΩ2ΑΝΗC ΠΙ2ΜΟΥ ΑΝΟΥΠ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑ ΕΤ

2. ΙΩ2. orig. written 2Ω2. and corrected.

Victor, Habbacuc(?)<sup>(1)</sup>, Zacharias, Elias (the) old man, the builder, John, Joseph the Nubian<sup>(2)</sup>, Joseph the carpenter, George<sup>(3)</sup> the grave-digger(?)<sup>(4)</sup>, Abraham, Armate<sup>(5)</sup>, Philotheus and Paul his brother, Theodore, Macarius. . . . ., Shenoute the grave-digger(?); remember me in charity, me Andrew the son of Macarius the builder; forgive me<sup>(6)</sup>, John the. . . .<sup>(7)</sup>, Anoup, Jeremias. . . .

90. Black in ink on plaster of wall in room 1704 (pl. L, 1).

†<sup>Θ</sup>  
 CY  
 ZMΠP[Λ]N MΠ[NOY]TE NΩOP M[Ε]N2ΩB NIM AN. . . .  
 APAMEEY E NTENNOYTE NTAN EN[OL]. . . .  
 5 ZNNIC2AI NQEPAMEEY E EPENNOYTE  
 . . H. E MPA XOEIC NIOT APAM NAPA PCA. . .  
 NANOYC ZNTMHTE NNE. A. . . .  
 PECMOY ZNPQO

✠ With God.

In the name of God, first of all things I(?) . . . . . remember me and may God bring me to a [good] end<sup>(8)</sup> . . . .  
 in these words and may he remember me.

It is a good thing in the midst of the. . .

The blessing(?) in his. . . .<sup>(9)</sup>.

91. Black ink on plaster of wall in room 727 (pl. L, 2).

✠ IC PEXC PENXOEIC . . . . .	5 AC MPPECBCTEPOC : COYXOY
COYCTOOC N2AOP . ΦOYMI	TCNOOYC NTΩBE ACHETON
CE NAPA : COYA MPAWONC	MOY : COYIA N2AOP ΦOYMIC
AYΩBXOY : COYMPAONE AY	NAP. . . OX : COYK NEPIHΦ AYAN

3. Quibell on revision believes the π to be an μ with very shallow centre stroke. If so, it must be an error for π since all the following pronouns are masculine. — 4. The ϣ is more like c or o.

<sup>(1)</sup> At first sight the names invoked seem to be those of Saints and martyrs, and most of them could be identified as such (l. 5 is especially suggestive), but they would form an unusually heterogeneous assemblage; and as several names are distinguished by occupations, it seems better to regard them as members of the monastery (perhaps the Elders) whose pardon is asked by an erring member or members. . . . AKOY M suggests AMBAKOY M.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. n° 146, 148.

<sup>(3)</sup> I. ΓEΩPΓE.

<sup>(4)</sup> The reading of the second letter (or letters) is doubtful: but it is probably the same word as in line 7. Its meaning is uncertain; Mr. Crum has suggested the above as possible.

<sup>(5)</sup> Perhaps an error for CAPMAT E.

<sup>(6)</sup> At the end of line 9 are two letters CE which belong however, I think, to the final group of the line below. What they mean, I fail to see.

<sup>(7)</sup> ΠI2MOY, cf. n° 158. Meaning unknown; but Mr. Crum suggests it may be for ΠCAN2MOY «the seller of salt» (a term found in Clédat's *Baouit*, II, p. 100) and quotes an instance from the Rylands MSS of ΠEMPI C being used where one would expect ΠCANEMPI C (CRUM, *Cat. Copt. MSS Rylands Libr.*, n° 137).

<sup>(8)</sup> A frequent phrase on tombstones, which is completed by the addition of ECPA NAC (*Rec. tr.*, XX, p. 174; *Bull. Inst. fr.*, II, p. 59), ECPA YAC (*Bull. Inst. fr.*, V, p. 13), or KACAC (*ibid.*, V, p. 16).

<sup>(9)</sup> These lines must be a quotation, but I have failed to identify it. PECMOY without the context may be either «the blessing» or «her death».

\* Jesus Christ our Lord . . . . . the fourth day of Athyr . . the birthday of Apa <sup>(1)</sup> : the first day of Pashons he was tonsured <sup>(2)</sup> : the day <sup>(3)</sup> of Payni he was made presbyter : the twenty second day of Tybi he went to his rest : the eleventh day of Athyr the birthday of Ap[a En]och : the twentieth day of Epiphi he was . . . . <sup>(4)</sup>.

92. Black ink on plaster of wall in room 728 (pl. L, 3).

ΑΡΙΠΑ]ΜΕΕΥΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΙΕΛΛΞ ΠΩΝ . .  
 . . ]ΑΜΩΝ ΠΡ ΖΩΓΡΑΦΟΣ ἸΩΣΑΝΗΣ ΚΟΥΪ ΠΡΟΣΚ

Remember me, Marcus, the humble, the son of . . . [Phoeb]ammon(?), the elder, (the) painter : John the less makes adoration.

93. Painted inscriptions by wall-paintings (pl. LV). — In the line above the Virgin and Child with archangels and three Saints.

(sic)  
 ΤΗΑΓΙΑ . . . . . ΠΝΣΟΝ ΠΠΑΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΠΑΜΑΡΗΣ· ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ· ΠΝΣΟΝ . . . .

The holy [Mary], our brother *papa* Peter, the man of the South country <sup>(5)</sup>; Apa Enoch, our brother . . . .

Apa Enoch carries a papyrus roll(?) inscribed : ΠΧΩΩΜΕ ΜΠΩΝΑΣ «the book of life». To the left and right of the Virgin's head are fragments of the names of the Archangels Michael (left) and Gabriel (right).

Under a medallion with a portrait, half destroyed : ΠΝΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΝΕΣΝΗΥ «our father Apa Panesneu».

94. Inscription in red paint on dado line in room 700 F (pl. LVIII).

✠ ἰϥ πεϣ̄ς ροε̄ις επᾱσον απα κυρε πεψ̄λτης αγω πκαθηγε̄της

Jesus Christ, watch over Brother Apa Kyre, the singer (ψάλτης) and teacher (καθηγητής).

<sup>(1)</sup> It is highly probable that Apa alone stands for Apa Jeremias, the Founder, the more so as his dates are followed by those of Apa Enoch in the last line. Cf. n° 48, note 1. Quite recently a stone inscribed with an account of the wine required for various church festivals has been discovered at the monastery in which the largest (and equal) amounts are allotted to the festivals of «Apa» and Apa Enoch, Apa Jeremias being nowhere else mentioned. The dates of the festivals are not given, but from those which are known it is evident that the list is in chronological order and the festival of «Apa» comes next after the Baptism of Christ on Tybi 11, which quite fits in with the death day, Tybi 22, given above. There is little doubt that «Apa» in both inscriptions is the Founder.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. AMÉLINEAU, *Pakhôme*, p. 368; *Mon. de la Basse-Égypte*, p. 330; LEIPOLDT, *Schenute*, p. 116; *Chron. John of Nikiou*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 317.

<sup>(3)</sup> The number of the day of the month is omitted.

<sup>(4)</sup> For the commemoration of dates of ordination, death, etc., of a founder on the wall of a chapel, cf. that of Shenoute in the White Monastery (*Journ. Theol. Studies*, V, p. 554).

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. n° 104, note 1.

## 95. Graffito over Virgin and two archangels in a niche in room 700 B.

† ΠΑΡΧΑΝΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΧΙΠΕΖΜΟΤ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΧΩ . . ΥΑΚΑΠΕ  
ΑΝΟΚ ΠΙΕΛΛΧΙΣΤΟΣ ΠΠΑΠΑ ΠΕΘΩΩ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΖ Ε . . .

1. ΧΙΠΕΖΜΟΤ, etc., cf. Hall Texts, p. 132; *Bull. Inst. fr.*, III, p. 92.

O archangel Michael confer the grace (of) God upon me (l. ΕΧΩ) unto loving kindness (l. ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΗ?), on me the most humble *papa* Pegosh, O God that liveth for ever (l. ΕΝΕΖ?).

## 96. Graffito on north wall of room 700 B.

† ΑΡΙΠΑΩΗΝΑΓΑΠΗ . . .  
ΑΝΟΚ ΛΙΛΑΜΜΩΝ ΤΜΕ  
ΝΝΩ ΩΠΕΝΗ . . . .

1. l. ΑΡΙΠΑΜΕΥ(?); at end [ΕΡΟΙ]. — 2. ΤΜΕ, l. ΠΙΕ[ΛΥ](?).

Remember me in charity, me Lilammon the humble(?) clerk. . . .

## 97. Graffiti in room 700 B.

a. ΑΓ. ΟΣ ΚΑΧΑ. ΟΣ ΝΟΘ ΜΑΡΤΗ.

Holy. . . . great martyr.

b. ✕ ΟΘΣ ΧΟΠΕΩΝΓ ΝΦΥΖΑ  
ΤΟΝ Μ. Χ. . . . ΓΙΕ

God. . . . .

## 98. Graffito on the walls of room 700 B.

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΛΙΛΑΜΜΩΝ ΠΙΕΛ ΝΖΥΠΟΝΟ ΝΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΝΣΙΟΟΥ

O God, watch over Lilammon, the humble under-clerk of Apa Jeremias. . . . .<sup>(1)</sup>.

## 99. Graffito on stone in the floor of 700 B.

✕ Ι̅C Χ̅C ΡΟΕΙ  
ΑΝΟΚ Π  
ΠΩΝΠΙ  
ΠΣΕΒΙΚ

Jesus Christ, watch (over) me, P. . . . the son of the . . . . Vic[tor].

## 100. Graffito on a pillar in 700 C.

✕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑ  
ΚΑΘΟΣ ΑΡΙΠ  
ΑΜΕΥΕ ΑΝΟΚ

O God, O good One remember me.

<sup>(1)</sup> The word suggests the place name *σιουύτ* (Assiūt); if so, «Apa Jeremias» can only stand (as often) for a monastery of that name. If he were a person, we should expect him to be described as *πρμσιουύτ*.

## 101. Inscription in top of east capital in 700 H.

ⲭⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲉ ⲁ.  
ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲱⲛ ⲛⲟⲗ

Below : ⲡⲙⲉ || ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧ  
ⲉⲡ || ⲓⲉⲉⲙⲟϥ  
ⲁ. || ⲡ

1. ⲓ. ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡ. — 2. Perhaps ⲓ. ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲱⲛ ⲟ ⲁ[ⲓⲓⲟⲥ], etc.

[Jesus] Christ, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Apa Apollo . . .

## 102. On west capital in 700 H.

In red paint ⲧ. Below, incised inscription :

ⲕ ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲡⲁ  
ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲓⲡ  
ⲁⲙⲉϥⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ  
ⲕ

O God, O good One, remember me, K . . .

## 103. Black ink on plaster wall in room 700 D.

.....ϣⲱⲕⲉ  
....ⲑⲛⲟⲟϥ ⲉⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲡ  
....ⲉⲥⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⲭⲣⲱ  
....ⲉϥ ⲟϥϣⲱⲛⲉ.ⲭⲓ  
5 .....ⲉⲃⲥ ⲛⲭⲟⲓⲧ  
....ⲉⲥⲟⲟϥ ⲉϥⲣⲟⲭ  
..ⲓⲭⲟⲓ.ⲱⲉⲣⲟⲟϥ ⲧⲓⲉⲣⲟⲟϥ ⲭⲣⲱ

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲛⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲉⲟⲩ. . .  
ⲉϥϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲱⲟ. . .  
10 ⲉⲓⲙⲟϥ ⲧⲓⲉⲣⲟⲟ. . . .  
ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲱⲉⲛⲟϥⲙ. . . .  
ⲭⲉⲛⲁⲕⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲓ. . . .  
ⲉⲓⲙⲟⲟϥ ⲧⲓⲉ. . . .  
ⲣⲱ"  
15 ⲉⲛⲡⲱ  
ϣⲱⲃⲉⲉ  
ⲉⲃⲑⲛⲛⲉ

The columns are complete at top and bottom.

7. ⲧⲓⲉⲣⲟⲟϥ as in *U. B. M. Kopt.*, n° 25, and BOURIANT, *Fragm. d'un livre de médecine* (*Comptes rendus Acad. inscr. et belles-lettres*, 1887). — 9. ϣⲱ. . . perhaps ϣⲱⲃⲉ as in line 16. — 11. ⲡⲱⲉⲛⲟϥⲙ. . . perhaps ϣⲉⲛⲟϥⲁⲙⲟⲙⲉ «gangrenous disease» formed on the same principle as ϣⲉⲛⲓⲕⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ (see VON LEMM, *Kl. Kopt. St.*, XXVII, p. 232). — 12. *Χῆν ἄγριος*, cf. GRIFFITH, *Demot. mag. pap.*, IV, 6, and for the use of goose-fat Z. 630 ⲱⲧ ⲛⲱⲃⲧ. — 17. ⲓ. ⲉⲃⲑⲛⲏϥ.

.....swelling. . . . pound them, flower of. . . . apply. . . . a sick person; take . . . . charcoal (? ⲭⲉⲃⲥ) of olive wood. . . . burnt(?). . . . of sheep(?) . . . . lay it on them, apply (it).

For figures of snakes (which appear to, or on) a sick person, flower of. . . . with salt; lay it on them [apply it].

For. . . . [fat(?) of] wild goose with . . . . and water; lay it on [them, ap]ply.

Wounds (? ⲡⲱⲗⲉ) . . . . gherkin(?) . . . . pounded. . . .

This is an extract from a collection of medical prescriptions such as we have in Z. 629.

104. Inscribed in black paint under row of figures (in room 705).

Π̄ΝCΟΝΠΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΠΑΠ̄ΝΗΙ ΜΑΡΗΣ

This our brother Peter who belongs to our house in the South country <sup>(1)</sup>.

105. Graffiti on door post in room 705.

Θ Β Υ Κ Θ Ζ ≡ Χ ≡  
 ||| Θ Π Θ Κ ≡ Ψ ≡  
 Κ ||| Λ Χ Ψ ≡ . Ο Φ  
 Π Ϛ ||| Θ Η Ι Ϛ Η Ϛ  
 5 ||| Θ Ϛ ≡ Η Λ

1. For Β, l. σ. — 4. For ΗΙ, l. ιιι.

This cryptogram reads as follows :

ΑΡΙΠΑΜΕΥΕ | ΝΑΚΑΠΕ ΤΕ | ΠΝΟΥΤΕ .Λ. [ΚΩ ΝΑΝΩΒΙ | ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟ[Λ]

Remember me in charity and may God . . . forgive me my sins.

The system used is a common one, differing only slightly from that given by GARDTHAUSEN, *Griech. Palaeogr.*, p. 235. Cf. n° 141 and CRUM, *B. M. Cat.*, n° 669.

106. Red colour on plaster wall of room 706.

Above row of heads on plate XI, 3.

1	ΠΟΛΛΕ ΜΑΚΕΝΤΕ ΜΕΝΑ	7	ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑC ΠΡ̄Ρ[ΟΕ]ΙC
2	ΠΑCΟΝ ΜΗΝΑ ΠΛΑΞΟC	8	Δ[ΛΥ]ΕΙΔ
3	† ΖΩΡ ΠΡ̄ΡΟΕΙC	9	ΑΠ. ΑΨΠΗΡ Π[ΡΑ]ΡΟΕΙC
4	ΕΙCΙΤΟΡΟC ΠΡ̄ΡΟΕΙC	10	.ΠΑ ΠΑΨΤΟΨ Π[ΡΑ]ΡΟΕΙC
5	. . . . ΟΖΕ ΠΡ̄ΡΟΕΙC	11	ΣΑΧΑΡΙΔ[Σ] ΠΡ̄Ρ . . . . .
6	. . ΡΗΤ ΠΡ̄ΡΟΕΙC		

2. He is holding a mason's hammer. Cf. n° 13 (p. 32, note 6). — 5. [ΠΑΠ]ΟΖΕ, cf. CRUM, *B. M. Cat.*, n° 1089, 1199; *A. Z.*, XL, p. 61.

The lame Makente Mena(?), the brother Mena the mason, † Hor the watchman, Isidore the watchman, Papohe(?) the watchman, . . ret the watchman, Jeremias the watchman, David, Apa Ashper(?) the watchman, Apa Pashtosh the watchman, Zacharias the watchman(?).

<sup>(1)</sup> Can this (apparently) affiliated house in the South country be the monastery of Apa Jeremias which lay a little to the south of Antinoe? (cf. *Corp. Pap. Rain.*, II, n° LXXXVI). Cf. also n° 93, 149, 157. For Π̄ΝΗΙ, cf. n° 148, c.

107. Graffito in black below the heads of watchmen in room 706.

✠ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΥΛΕ .Ι. . . . . ΙΑ  
ΑΡΙΠΑΜΕΕ ΝΑΚΑΠΕ ΕΜΚΗ  
ΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΣΙ . . . ΤΟΥΝΕΣ  
ΜΟΙ

✠ I, Paul . . . . . remember me in charity . . . and may God . . . raise me up.

108. Inscriptions over heads on west wall of room 706.

a. ΠΑΣΟΝ ΑΒΡΑ  
ΣΑΛΑΜ ΠΕΥ  
ΩΗΡΕ ΝΕΣ<sup>Μ</sup>ΑΙΙ

b. ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗ  
ΜΙΑΣ

a. My brother Abraham, their son . . .

b. Apa Jeremias.

c. ⲡ ΠΑΣΟΝ .ΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ  
ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΑΠΑ ΝΑΥ<sup>Ρ</sup> ΣΟΣ  
ΣΙΤΟΧΟΣ ΠΚΛΙΑΜΕΟΣ

c. My brother Zacharias, the son of Apa Nafr . . . . . the potter (? *κεραμεύς*).

109. Graffito on wall in room 706.

ΟΥΤ  
ΣΣ . . ΗΝΑ                      ΙΣ Π  
ΝΕΤΙΑΚΟΥΝΙΑ  
ΕΟΥΛΙΠΤΟΥΝ  
5 ΑΚΔ ΠΕΣΑΜ/ΠΜΙΧΑΛΗ

110. Graffito in black chalk in niche in north wall of room 706.

✠ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΝΝ  
ΣΑΥΙΣΑ ΠΑΛΛΕ  
✠ ΙΧΗΝΑΛΑΝΠΥΣΑΠ  
ΜΗ . . \ ΝΩΤ - Π ΝΟΣ ΝΑΙΕ

In red paint, by another hand :

ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ  
ΙΠΣΟΠΑ

✠ I, Papp[oute(?)] . . . ✠ . . . . .

Jeremias, bishop(?) (l. *ἐπίσκοπε*?).

111. Graffito on stair n° 711.

ΟΕΙΣ ΙΩΣΑΝΝΗΣ                      ΔΙΟΣΤΡΟΦ . . ΝΣΟΥΝΑΥ  
ΕΛΠΙ ΙΑΣ ΠΕΥΚΛ/ ΝΑΜΙΡ/                      5 Η  
... ΡΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΠΔΕΣΠ ΛΟΓΣ                      Ν.  
ΠΕΒΟΤ ΕΜΩ ΙΝ

. . . . . watch [over me] John . . . . . Elp . . . as the most noble (*εὐκλεστάτος*) emir . . . . . great . . . . . the lord,  
(the) chancellor<sup>(1)</sup> . . Diostrophes(?) on the 2<sup>nd</sup> day . . . . . the month of Mechir, in[diction] . . .

<sup>(1)</sup> *Λογοθέτης* usually a controller of a department in the Byzantine Empire, later the title given to the head of the Imperial Chancery, *vide* DUCANGE, *Gloss. med. inf. graec.* s. v.

112. Painted on wall of room 712.

Between the arms of a cross in a circular border.

ϸΩϸΩ

ΝΙΚΑ

An invocation to the Saviour frequently found e.g. *Ann. Serv.*, VIII, p. 81; HALL, *Texts*, p. 136; Pellegrini, in *Bessarione*, ann. XII, fasc. 97-99, reprint p. 19; STRZYGOWSKI, *Kopt. Kunst*, p. 119.

113. Graffito in red paint on wall in room 722.

ΜΠΑΣ . .

ϸΩΝ ΦΙΒ ΠΙΩΤ ΜΠΜΑ . .

ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΝΕΝϸΝΗ

ΜΜΑΛ . Μ

...brother Phib the father of the infirmary(?)<sup>(1)</sup>, Jeremias....

114. Graffiti on fragments of plaster fallen from wall of 722.

a. . .ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟ . .

. .ΜΑΙΠΕΤ . . .

b. ΤΑ . ΝΙϸ

ΠΜΑΝ . .

ΑΜΗΗ

...Theophilus.....the refectory(?)<sup>(2)</sup>...Amen.

115. Inscription in black below medallions in room 707.

ΕΝΝΕΡΟΜΠΕ ΝΕΝΙΟ . . . . .

ΕΥΜΕΝΟΣ : Ι : ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΣ . Κ . ΧΛΑΔ

ΠΕΤΡΟΥ : Ι : ΑΧΙΛΛΑ . ΕΝΟΥϸ . . . . .

ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ : Η : ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ : Θ : ΚΕΪΩΑΝΝ . . . . .

5 . ΕΙ . . ΜΙϸ : Λ / Α Γ Α . . . ΙΗΖ . . . . .

List] of the years (of) our fathers . . . . .

Eumenos, 13 : Marcianus . Kellad[ion] . . . .

of Peter, 11(?) : of Achilles . . . . .

of Athanasius, 8 : of John, 9 : the other John . . . . .

of [B]enjamin, 3[9(?)] : of Aga[thon] . . . . .

This is a fragment of a list of the patriarchs of Alexandria, with their years of rule and had it been complete, it would have afforded valuable information as to the date of the inscription and consequently of the room on the wall of which it was written. Unfortunately the end of the inscription is missing. There remain the beginnings of five lines, but it is evident that the lines were very long and only a small portion of them remains. For lists of the patriarchs see RENAUDOT,

<sup>(1)</sup> ΠΜΑΝΕΤΩΩΝΕ(?). Cf. n° 2, 69, 117.

<sup>(2)</sup> ΠΜΑΝΟΥΩΜ(?); or the infirmary, ΠΜΑΝΕΤΩΩΝΕ.

*Hist. Patr. Alex.*; KIRCHER, *Lingua aeg. rest.*, p. 518; GUTSCHMID, *Kleine Schriften*, II, p. 395; EVETTS, *Hist. of the Patriarchs (Patrologia Orient.*, I); *Rec. trav.*, VII, p. 92; CRUM, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, n° 43.

Perhaps ΤΗΠ]Ε ΝΝΕΡΟΜΠΕ was the original heading. There are six names missing before Eumenos, which with their years of rule give us the approximate length of the lines.

ΕΥΜΕΝΟΣ, usually ΕΥΜΕΝΙΟΣ, in EUS., *H. E.*, IV, 5 εὐμενῆς. He ruled 13 years, read ἱρ.

ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΣ, so nearly always (EUS., *H. E.*, IV, 11 μάρκος). He ruled 10 years.

Κ. ΛΛΑΔ the last two letters very uncertain. The inscription has disappeared together with the wall and only Mr. Quibell's hand copy remains. The name varies in spelling: Celadion (κελαδίων) RENAUDOT, EUS., *H. E.*, IV, 11; ΚΕΛΛΑΔΙΟΣ (*Rec. tr. u. s.*); ΚΕΛΛΑΤΙΑ[ΝΟΣ] CRUM, *u. s.*; ΚΕΛΛΑΔΙΑΝΟΣ, Kircher. After him seven names are missing.

ΠΕΤΡΟΥ, *i. e.* Peter I the martyr; he ruled 11-12 years, read ἱλ or ἱβ.

ΑΧΙΛΛΑ, Achilles, RENAUDOT: ΑΧΗΛΛΑΣ; CRUM, *u. s.* ΑΡΧΙΑΛΛΑΣ Kircher, ΑΡΧΗΛΛΑ(*c*) *Rec. tr. u. s.* He ruled six months and was succeeded by Alexander. This renders the word ΕΝΟΥΩ difficult of explanation.

After Achilles eight names are missing.

ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ, *i. e.* Athanasius II. He is usually credited with 7 years from A. D. 488-494. Here his years are said to be eight.

ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ, *i. e.* John I A. D. 494-503.

ΚΕΙΩΑΝΝ[ΟΥ], John II A. D. 503-515. After John II seven names are missing.

[Β]ΕΝ[ΙΑ]ΜΙC = Βενιαμίνος, the patriarch of the Arab invasion A. D. 622-661 (BUTLER, *Arab conquest*, p. 501-505, fixes the date of his accession as probably Jan. 3. 623), ruled 38 or 39 years. The second cipher is missing here.

ΑΓΑ... Agathon who succeeded Benjamin seems to have ruled 16 years dying in 677 when he was succeeded by John of Samanūd.

The meaning of the last letters ἱηz is not clear.

116. Graffito on wall in room 727.

ΠΕΧC ΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΟΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΩΝΕ . . . ΠΜΑΝΟΥΩΜ

O Christ, watch over me, Paone . . who belong to the refectory.

117. Graffito in red paint on wall in room 729.

. ΠΑ ΑΒΡΑΔΑΜ ✕

ΝΟ . ΟC ΑΥΩ

ΠΙΩΤ ΜΠΝΙΑ

ΙΩΣΑΝΝΗC ΠΝΟΥ

5 ΑΡΡΟΥ

[A]pa Abraham ✕

The oeconomus(?) and the father of the infirmary(?)<sup>(1)</sup>; John the clerk(?)<sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> Ι. ΜΠΜΑ[ΝΕΤΩΩΝΕ](?). Cf. n° 2, 69, 113.

<sup>(2)</sup> ΠΝΟΤΑΡΙΟΣ(?).

## 118. Stone block with ink graffito from church (752).

✠ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΙΜ . . .  
 . ΑΜΜΑΝΙΟΣ ΑΝΑ . . . .  
 . ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝΟΝ ΦΘΒ . .

O holy Apa Jeremias . . . . Ammonius . . . . .

## 119. Graffito in yellow ink on stone block from a wall in church (752).

✠ ΑΠΑ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ  
 ΠΨΑΛΜΩΤΟΣ

Apa George, the precentor.

ΨΑΛΜΩΤΟΣ, cf. ΨΑΛΜΩΔΟΣ, CRUM, *B. M. Cat.*, p. 233; LAGARDE, *Aegyptiaca*, p. 223; BUDGE, *St. Michael*, p. 62.

## 120. Graffito on stone from a wall in church (752).

ΜΙΑC  
 Υ CΙΒΑ  
 ΥΑΚΑ  
 ΝΟΥΤ  
 5 ΝΓΕΩ  
 ΑΩΟΝC  
 (?)  
 ΗΝ✠ ΘΘ  
 ΚΓ

. . . . . [Apa Jere]mias . . . . [our mothe]r Sibylla (l. CΙΒΑ[Α]) . . . . . love (l. ΟΥΑΚΑΠΗ) . . . . God . . . . . of George [who died on the — day of P]ashons . . . . . [Am]en, Amen. 23 <sup>(1)</sup>.

## 121. Graffiti scratched on limestone fragments of the wall of church (752).

a. ΕΝΩΧ ΠΩΕΝΙ . . ΘΝΕC  
 ✠

Enoch the son of John (? l. ΙΩΖΑΝΕC).

b. ΠΕ . . ΡΙΠΑΜΕΥΙ  
 . ΝΩΚ ΓΕΩΡΓΙ ΡΩΜC

O Christ (l. ΠΕϞC), have (l. ΑΡΙ) in remembrance me (l. ΑΝΟΚ) George . . . .

<sup>(1)</sup> Probably the age of the deceased, cf. n° 81.

122. Inscription in black ink beside painted figure on a pillar in church (752).

✠ CTE  
 ΦΑΝΟΣ  
 ΣΗΠΟΔΙ  
 ΑΚ/ ΠΡ  
 5 ΘΩΩ  
 ΜΝ CΕ  
 ΥΗΡΟΣ  
 ΠΕΘΩ  
 ΝΟΣ ✠

✠ Stephen, (the) subdeacon, the lector <sup>(1)</sup>, and Severus his. . . . .

123. Red paint on wall in church (753).

ΠΑΣΟΝ ΓΕΩ[ΡΓΕ]  
 ΠΑΠΜΑΝΟΥΦ[Μ]

My brother George, who belongs to the refectory <sup>(2)</sup>.

124. Stone block with scratched graffiti from church (753).

✠ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΡΙΟΥΝΑ  
 ΤΕΥΧΗ ΠΑΛΚ  
 ΧΩΩΡΕ ΖΑ

O God, have mercy on the soul of the deacon (l. ΠΑΛΚ/) Djoore. A[men].

125. Graffito scratched on stone block from church (753).

✠ CTEΦΗΝΑΚΙ  
 ✠ Ο ΑΠΟΣ  
 ΗΡΤΡΕΠΕΝ

✠ Stephenaki(?) ✠ the apos[tle(?)] . . . . martyr (? l. ΜΡΤΡΕ), our. . . .

126. Graffito on stone block of west wall of church (753).

✠ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΜΗ  
 ΜΗΝΑ  
 ΑΠΟΛΘΛΙΜΑΝΑΧ  
 ✠ George . . . . . monk (?).

<sup>(1)</sup> ΠΡΘΩΩ = ἀναγνώστης, cf. CRUM, *B. M. Cat.*, p. 264 n.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. n<sup>o</sup> 13, 64, 116.

127. Ink graffito on fragment of pillar in room 753.

✠ κ̄ε̄ ο̄θ̄  
ΕΥCΠΛΑΧΝ  
ΕΛΕΗCΟΝ  
ΑΠΑ

1. 1. κύριε ὁ Θεός. — 2. εὐσπλαγχνε.

O Lord God, compassionate One, have mercy (on) Apa . . .

128. Graffito scratched on stone block from north-west of church (754).

ΜΑΚΡ	10	ΙC ΧC ΑΡΙΟΥΝΑ ΙΝΕ
ΝΑ2		ΓΑΡΑΚΗ
ΜΙΝ		.ΟΥΡΙ
ΑΠΧΟ		ΜΑΡΑΜΑ2ΙΡΑ
5 ΚΙΡ		ΠΑΠΑΥΛΕ ΧΙ2Υ
ΤΟΥΚ		ΜΙΧΑΝΑ
CΟΥΠΙΕ		ΕΧ

Too fragmentary for translation.

129. Graffiti on a broken shaft in the north-west corner of church (754).

a.	ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ	b.	ΓΕ
	ΦΕΝΟΥΤΙ		ΩΡ
	CΑΜΠΑ		ΓΕ

I, Shenouti, seller (?) of . . . . George.

130. Block with rudely scratched graffiti from room 755.

.ΝΟΚΝΟΦΕΝΟΤΕΠΑΔΕ  
ΜΕCΙCΕΡΕΠΑΤΕΠΑΚΑ  
ΔΟCΑΥΩΜΑΝΡΩΜΕ  
ΙΑΕΝΩΝΑΜΕΤΕΨΛΥ  
5 ]ΦΥΧΑCΑΡ.ΕΤΟΟΤΕ

This ill written graffito suggests some such reconstruction as this : ΑΝΟΚ ΠΝΟ ΦΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΤΕ . . . ΕΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΓΛΘΟC ΑΥΩ ΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ ΡΟΥΝΟC ΠΝΑ ΜΕΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ . . . .

I, the clerk Shenoute, belonging to . . . , may God the good and man-loving, have great mercy on the soul of . . . .

131. Graffito scratched on stone in room 756.

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΑCΕΜ . . ΙΒΡΑ2ΙΜ  
ΕΒΕCΜΟ. ΕΝΕΙ . .  
.ΟΠ

O God, who hast . . . . Ibrahim, thou wilt bless these . . . . (lit. : « who hath . . . . he will . . . . »).

132. Ink inscription on limestone slab in room 764.

ⲫ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲃⲓⲕⲩⲱⲣ ⲕⲟϥⲓ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲣⲛⲉⲥ  
ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲉϥⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲓ ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲁ  
ⲥⲁⲙⲉⲃⲥⲁⲙⲓⲕⲓⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲁⲙⲛⲛ ⲛ

ⲫ I, Victor the Less, who attend to the oil-press <sup>(1)</sup>; keep me in remembrance, and may God bring my end forth (l. ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) in the house of Apa (? l. ⲥⲁⲙⲛⲓ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ) <sup>(2)</sup>. Amen ⲛ.

133. Graffiti on south wall of room 773.

ⲃⲓⲕⲩⲱⲣ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ                      ⲃⲓⲕⲩⲱⲣ ⲕⲁϥⲓ  
ⲡⲓⲛⲕⲉⲣⲛⲉⲥ . .

Victor I, Victor the Less (l. ⲕⲟϥⲓ?), (the) butler <sup>(3)</sup>.

ⲓⲥ ⲭⲥ ⲛ ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲕⲟⲓⲡⲉ  
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲙⲟⲛ ϥⲉⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ  
ϥⲡⲟⲛⲟⲧⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲧ . . . .

Jesus Christ ⲛ watch over me in charity (l. ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲡⲛⲓ), me the monk (l. ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁⲕⲟⲥ) Shenoute, under-clerk . . . .

Further to the west :

ⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙⲛⲛⲁ ⲡⲥϥⲡⲟⲛⲟ ⲙⲛⲉⲛⲱⲭ  
ⲡⲥⲓⲟⲟⲛ ⲙⲛⲥⲉⲣⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲟ ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲛ  
ⲙⲛ ⲓⲉⲣⲛⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲉⲣⲟⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲥ  
ⲉⲟⲑⲗ - ⲭⲥ ⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲥⲟⲫ :  
5 ⲉⲣ . ⲟⲕⲛⲁⲣⲁⲡⲙⲣ /  
ⲑⲱⲑⲓ . ⲁⲛⲣ /

I, Mena, the under-clerk and Enoch, the . . . . ., and Sergius the clerk, his brother and Jeremias his elder brother (l. ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲛ) . . . . . Jesus Christ <sup>(4)</sup> . . . .

To right of this :

ⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲓⲉⲗ

I, the humblest.

Further to right :

ⲛ ⲓⲥ ⲭⲥ ⲃⲟⲛⲑⲏⲥⲟⲛ

Jesus Christ, help!

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. *Corp. Pap. Rain.*, II, n° CCXLIV; *Crum, B. M. Cat.*, n° 1107.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. *CLÉDAT, Baouît*, p. 25 : ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲛⲟϥ. The «house of Apa» = the monastery of Saint Jeremias, cf. n° 48, 91.

<sup>(3)</sup> Lat. *pincerna*. Cf. n° 155, and Ducange *s. v. πινκέρνης*.

<sup>(4)</sup> The last two lines seem to contain a date in the «years of the martyrs — Thoth»; but I cannot explain it.

## 134. Painted inscription on west wall of room 773.

ΠΝΣΟΝ ἸΩΣΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΚΟΟΡΕ  
 ΠΝΣΟΝ ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΥΙΝΣΩΡ  
 ΠΝΣΟΝ ΑΠΑ ΚΥ... ΠΕΨΑ. ΠΠΜ... ΠΝΣΟΝ Π

Below :

ΝΕΒΧΟΔΟΝΟΣΟΡ ΔΟΥΛΟΣ

Our brother John, the feller (of trees)(?).  
 Our brother Shenoute, son of (? l. ψν) Hor.  
 Our brother Apa Kyre (?), the teacher(?) of(?) the ...., our brother P...  
 Nebochodonosor. Servant.

## 135. Graffiti on plaster of wall of room 773.

✠ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΕΠΙΨΑΤΕΚ

I, .....

About 0 m. 40 cent. below :

✠ ΠΝΟΥΤ' ΠΑΙ Δ' ΑΥΩ ΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ  
 ΡΟΖ... ΚΩ...

O good (l. αγαθος) and loving (= φιλόανθρωπος) God .....

Close by :

In black ink near door :

ΝΑΡΝΙΚΡΟCC

ΑΝΟΚ Ἰ...Α.ΗΣ ΚΟΥΪ  
 ΠΟΡΕΛΡ

I, John(?) the Less, ....

## 136. Inscription in red paint on wall of room 773.

ΜΗ	ΑΤΑΕ
ΝΕΣ	ΥΑΜΑΣΙ
ΠΕΤ	ΥΟΜΟΥΕΙ
ΜΟΟΥ	ΜΗΝ
5 ΤΑΪΕΙ	....

Too fragmentary for reconstruction.

## 137. Graffito from room 773.

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΡΕΙC ΕΠΝΣΟΝ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤ' ΠΑΙC ΡΩ  
 ... ΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΟΪ .ΑΙ  
 ΣΑΜΠΟ.....

O God, watch over our brother .... the clerk, this(?) ....  
 O God, watch over me, this(?) .....

## 138. Graffito in red on block from room 773.

ΠΑΣΟΝ ΕΝΩΧ ΠΡΕϣ  
 ΡΩΕΙΣ ΕΝΦΩ. . ΝΠΩ  
 ΘΙΠΕΟΟΕΟ

My brother, Enoch, the watchman . . . .

## 139. Graffito on pillar in room 773.

λ	ΡΙΟΥΝΑ ΜΝ̄
ΠΣ	ΤΕΨΗΧΥ ΓΙΑ
ΜΙΝ Μ	ΩΝ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ
ΝΗΝΑΣΟ	10 ΠΙΩΤ ΠΑΝΓΩΧ
5 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ	ΠΑΣΟΝ ΝΑΣΡΟΥ
ΠΑΚΑΘΟΣ	

. . . . . O God, O good One, have mercy on the soul of my brother (l. ΠΑΣΟΝ) George the father of . . . . .<sup>(1)</sup>, my brother Nahroou.

## 140. Graffiti on west side of south door in room 775.

a. In large black letters :

ΑΛΕΞ  
 ΕΝΩΧ ΚΟΥΙ

Alex(ander), Enoch the Less.

b. In large red letters :

ΕΝΩΧ Π Π

Enoch . . .

## 141. Graffito in black ink inside door on north side of room 775.

ΔΞΚΘΧΞΚΧΛΧΨΞ  
 ΧΦΣΚΘΧΛΠΗϣΠ  
 ΨΣΚϣΞΟΘΥϣΩΨΟΩ  
 ΧΔΒΠΞΘΘΙΚΘΞΞ  
 5 ΛΧΞΧΘΞΒΧ

This cryptogram reads as follows :

ΖΜΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ | ΝΨΩΡΠ ΔΝΟΚ ΒΙΚ | ΤΩΡ ΠΙΕΛΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ | ΝΖΗΚΕ ΔΡΙΠΑΜΕ |  
 ΟΥΕ ΝΑΜΗΝ

In the name of God before all things, I Victor the humble poor man, remember me. Amen<sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> The title ΠΙΩΤ suggests that ΠΑΝΓΩΧ is some part of the monastery. Cf. n° 48, note 1.

<sup>(2)</sup> In the last line χ (= ν) should be Δ (= ζ), giving ΖΑΜΗΝ. The alphabet is the same as in n° 105, except that here χ (instead of ιιι) = ν.

142. Inscription in large red letters on west side of buttress in room 775.

ΙΑΚΩΒ  
ΙΩΣΗΦ  
ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΝΑΝ

Jacob, Joseph, Papnute . . . .

143. On plaster of wall of room 782.

ΑΝΟΚ	5 ΠΜΟΝΟ
ΦΩΣ	ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΟ
ΑΡΙΠΜΕΥΕ	ΒΟΛ ΖΜ
ΣΟΝ ΠΑΠΝΟΥ	ΠΑ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ

The ends of the lines are incomplete.

I, . . . . the lector (? l. πρϣωϣ) . . . . remember [me], brother Papnoute, the monk, O God, forgive [me]  
. . . . Amen, Amen.

144. On stone of wall from room 792 in black ink.

ⲓ ⲓϥ ⲡⲉⲗⲥ ϣⲟⲓϥ  
ΠΑΣΟΝ ΠΑΜΟΧΝ  
ΠΑΣΟΝ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΚΟΥΙ  
ΠΑΤΡ. . ΙΝΕ ΚΟΥΙ  
5 ΠΩΕΝΑΠΑ ΖΑΠΓ

ⲓ Jesus Christ, watch (over) my brother Pamoun (l. ΠΑΜΟΥΝ), my brother George the Less, Patr. . ine  
the Less <sup>(1)</sup>, the son of Apa Z. . .

145. Inscription «near the drawing of Saint Theodore» in room 1703.

ΑΠΑ ΦΟ ΤΠΑΣ  
ΑΜΩΕ ΑΡΙΠΑΜΕΥΕ ΑΡΙΠΑ  
ΝΤΕΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΑΖΑΝ ΝΤΕ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΑΝ. . Υ<sup>ΠΝ</sup>Ρ. ΠΜΗΤΑΖΑ  
5 ΕΝΕCΝΗΥ : ΤΑΜΙ. ΘΑ. ΡΕ  
ΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ 4Θ ΝΕ  
Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡ<sup>ϣ</sup> ΜΑΡC

Apa Shoi(?) . . . . . my brother(?) . . . . . carpenter, remember me, remember(?) me and may God bring  
me to a good(?) end <sup>(2)</sup>. . . . the(?) end of the brethren <sup>(3)</sup> . . . . . the fathers. Amen . . . . . Saint Theodore. . . .

<sup>(1)</sup> The inscription, if one may judge from the hand copy, is very irregularly written. Possibly there are no missing letters in this line and it should be read ΠΑΤΡΙ ΠΕΚΟΥΙ «he who belongs to the department of the children», *i. e.* the monastic school. Cf. n° 48, note 1.

<sup>(2)</sup> l. ΕCΡΑΝΑϣ(?), cf. n° 90, note 8.

<sup>(3)</sup> This suggests the Bawit formula quoted in n° 132, note 2, but I do not see how to read it into the text.

## 146. Graffiti on jambs of door in room 1706.

Brown ink :

ΑΝΟΚ ΣΑΡΩΝ Μ

I, Aaron..

Faint black ink :

✠ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΟΙ  
ΝΑΓΑΠΗ ΑΝΟΚ ΙΩΣ  
ΗΦ Π...ΩΩ ΣΑΜΗ  
Ν ✠✠ O God, watch over me in charity, me Joseph  
the Nubian <sup>(1)</sup>, Amen ✠.

Black ink :

✠ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΙΛΛ  
ΧΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΤ  
I, the humble....

Scratched :

ΕΝΩΧ ΚΟΥΙ ΠΑΤΙΑΚ  
ΝΑ  
Enoch (the) Less, the deacon.

Scratched : ΒΛΟΥΦΑΝΕ.

✠ ΙC ΧC  
ΡΟΕΙΣ  
ΑΝΟΚ  
ΚΟΥΙ ΦΑΜΩΕ

Jesus Christ, watch (over) me Koui, the carpenter.

147. Graffito on jamb of door (3<sup>rd</sup> door north side) in room 1706.✠ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΟΥΙ ΠΑΠΡΟ  
ΠΕΡΥΡΟΕΙΣ

Makare the Less, the door-keeper, the watchman.

## 148. Inscriptions on south pilaster of room 1706.

a. ΟΥΝΙΛΕΥΕΡΕΙΜ

b. ✠ ΙΩΣΗΦ ΠΕΩΩ ΚΟΥΙ ΠΕΤ  
ΧΙΧ . \ ΝΟΥΤΕ

Joseph the Nubian the Less, who(?).... (Cf. nos 89, 146.)

c. ....ΕΙΣ ΕΡΟΙ  
ΙC ΧC ΡΟ ΑΝΟΚ ΚΟΛ  
ΚΟΥΙ ΠΕ  
ΠΕΡΥΡΟΕΙΣ ΠΝΗ

.... watch over me; Jesus Christ, watch(?) (over) me Colluthus(?) the Less the humble(?) watchman of our house.

<sup>(1)</sup> The space is rather large for ΕΣ only, but cf. nos 89, 148; otherwise it might be ΠΡΩΩ.

d. ΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ  
ΩΜ

Apa Makare, the younger(?).

149. Graffito on north pilaster of room 1706.

‡ ΙC ΧC ΡΟ . . . .  
ΝΕ ΑΝΟΚ . . . ΕΠ  
ΝΜΑΡΗΣ . . . . .  
ΕΒΟΛΣΑΜ . . . . ΝΒΙΚΤΩΡ  
5 ΠΡΕΦΡΟΕΙC . . . . ΚΟΥΠ  
ΡΕ ΠΖΟΚΤΩ ΜΝΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΚΟΥΙ  
ΠΝΟΤΑΡΙΟC — ΕΜΙ ΠΛΥ.ΚΗΙ  
‡

Jesus Christ, watch . . . me . . . of the South . . . of Victor the watchman . . . Koupre the . . .<sup>(1)</sup> and Victor the Less, the clerk . . . . .

150. Inscription in purple ink on pillar in room 1706.

ΙC ΧC ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑC	ΜΝΑΠΑ ΙΩΣΑΝΝΗC ΜΝΑΠΑ
ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΑΜΑ CΙΒΥΛΛΑ	ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΝΕΠΡΟΕC <sup>Ω</sup> ΜΝΜΗΝΑ
ΡΟΕΙC ΕΠΝΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ	ΠΝΟ <sup>Τ</sup> ΠΩΝΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΚΕ
ΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC	ΠCΟΝ ΝΠΝΕΙΩΤ ΜΝΠΝCΟΝ
5 ΠΑΡ <sup>Χ</sup> /ΜΑ <sup>Λ</sup> Ν ΑΥΩ ΠΖΗΓΟΥΜ <sup>Ε</sup>	10 ΛΙΛΑΜΜΩΝ ΠΝΟ <sup>Τ</sup> †

Jesus Christ, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Ama Sibylla, watch over our God-loving father, Apa Alexander<sup>(2)</sup> the Archimandrite and Abbot, and over Apa John and Apa George, the priors, and Mena the clerk, the son of the blessed Apa Kyre (?)<sup>(3)</sup>, the brother of our father<sup>(4)</sup>, and our brother Lilammon<sup>(5)</sup> the clerk †.

151. Graffito on a pillar from room 1706.

ΜΝΠΕΝCΟΝ ΙCΑΑΚ ΠΝΟ<sup>Τ</sup>  
ΜΝΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΚΟΥΙ ΠΝΟ<sup>Τ</sup>  
ΜΝΙΕΡΗΜΙΑC ΚΟΥΙ ΠΝΟ<sup>Τ</sup>

And our brother Isaac the clerk, and Apollo the Less the clerk and Jeremias the Less the clerk.

<sup>(1)</sup> I. ΠΖΟΚΧΩ(?) «the bald» or «with the shaven head».

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. n° 1, note 1. The same combination of titles we find in his successor David (REVILLOUT, *Actes et Contrats*, n° 4, 8, 9). According to Stern (*A. Z.*, XXIII, p. 147) «als Vorsteher der Kirche ist er Hegumenos und als der des Klosters Archimandrit».

<sup>(3)</sup> ΚΕ by itself is not a name but it is a frequent abbreviation for κύριε «O Lord» and hence may have been used for the name ΚΥΡΕ, especially as κύριος is frequently spelt κυρος.

<sup>(4)</sup> I. e. the brother of the Archimandrite, and Mena was his nephew.

<sup>(5)</sup> An uncommon name, occurs also in n° 98, presumably the same individual. Probably ΛΙΛΑΜΟΥ (CRUM, *B. M. Cat.*, index) is another form of it.

152. Graffito in red paint on block of stone in 1709.

ΤΕΓΛΕΣΙ

The church (ἐκκλησία, probably a mason's memorandum).

153. Graffito on east face of door in 1714.

ΡΑΠΕ ΚΟΥΙ ΠΙΑΧ . . .

ΑΡΙ

. . . rape the Less the . . . have [mercy on my soul or remembrance of me].

154. Graffito on plaster of wall near door of 1714.

ΠΙΩΤ ΜΝΓ

ΑΚΩΛΑΝΘ ΕΒΟΛΣΝ

ΝΑΥΝΑ . . . ΠΑΝΙΕΛ

ΕΡΕΠΩΣΑΝ . ΑΚ

5 ΝΑΜ . . ΟΙ

ΝΠΕΚ

155. Graffiti on the walls of room 1714.

a. ✠  $\overbrace{\text{ΑΝΟΚ}}$  ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΠΙΝΚΕΡΝΕΣ ΝΠΕΝΙΩΤ  $\overbrace{\text{ΣΑΜΗΝ}}$

I, Victor, (the) butler<sup>(1)</sup> of our father<sup>(2)</sup>. Amen.

b. ✠ ΠΧΟΕΙΣΟΟΥΝ ΜΠΑΡΟΝΣ

O Lord, know (l. ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΟΟΟΥΝ) my . . .

c. ✠ ΠΕΧ̄Σ ΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΟΝ ΝΑΓΑΠΗ ΑΝΟΝ ΝΕΙ . . ΝΣΙΠΟΝΟΣ  
ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΜΝΒΙΚ'ΓΩΡ ΚΟΥΙ ΑΡΙΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ  
ΝΑΓΑΠΗ ✠

✠ O Christ, watch over us in love, us the humble under-clerks(?)<sup>(3)</sup> Apollo, and Victor the Less; remember me in charity ✠.

156. Graffito written within a red border on wall of room 1715.

ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑΣ

. . ΩΧ ΚΟΥΙ

ΠΡΕΦΡΟΕΙΣ

Holy Apa . . . Enoch the Less, the watchman.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. n° 133. — <sup>(2)</sup> I. e. the Abbot. — <sup>(3)</sup> l. ΝΕΙΕΛ/ΝΣΥΠΟΝΟΣ(?).

157. Red paint on limestone block (sebakh).

✠ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ . ΟΥΤ  
 ΦΑΜΩΕ ΜΑΡΗΣ  
 ΜΕΝΝΦ. . ΝΗΤ  
 ΑΡΚΑΣΙΑ  
 5 ΥΤΕ ΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΟΥ  
 ΣΑΜΗΝ ✠

Jeremias the Less(?) <sup>(1)</sup> the carpenter (of) the South country <sup>(2)</sup> and the . . . of the work (ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ?) O God(?), watch over them. Amen.

### C. — OSTRACA.

158. Ostrakon from room 700 K.

ΑΜΜΟΝΕ  
 ΜΜΝΑ ΠΙΣΜΟΥ  
 ΠΚΕΡΣΕ ΙΑΖΑΝΕΣ  
 ΦΙΒ Π. ΑΠΑ ΚΛΟΥΧ  
 5 Σ  
 ΑΝΟΥΠ ΜΑΝΕ  
 ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ ΠΚ. Ρ  
 ΤΟΥΡΣΙΝ  
 ΑΠΛΩ ΠΙΒΩ — C

Ammonius, Mena(?) the salt-seller(?) <sup>(3)</sup>, the bald <sup>(4)</sup> John, Phib, the papa(?) Colluthus, 6. Anoup the herd(?), Phoebammon the . . , Toursin, Apollo the . . .

159. Ostrakon from room 700 K.

ΠΕΣΩΨ ΝΑΖΑΜ  
 ΙΣΑΚ ΜΑΤΟΙ  
 ΙΩΣΑΝΜC ΠΩΟΙ Ν  
 ΑΝΟΥΠ ΑΠΑ ΝΟΥ  
 5 ΙΕΛ

3. I. ΙΩΣΑΝΗC.

Pegosh . . . . <sup>(5)</sup>, Isaac (the) soldier, John, Pshoi(?) <sup>(6)</sup> . . Anoup, (the) great Apa, Isa(ac?) <sup>(7)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> I. ΚΟΥΙ(?).

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. n° 93, 104.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. n° 89 (p. 54, note 7).

<sup>(4)</sup> A bohairic word; cf. LEMM, *Kl. Kopt. Stud.*, XXVI, p. 230; AMÉLINEAU, *M. A. F.*, IV, p. 119.

<sup>(5)</sup> The word is ΑΖΑΜ; cf. n° 161, 163, and Ν must be the connective particle. The word ΑΖΑΜ is new as far as I know. Perhaps it is a nick name from ΑΖΩΜ «eagle(-nosed), aquiline».

<sup>(6)</sup> Either a proper name, as often, or perhaps descriptive, «the elongated, lanky» (pseudop. of ΨΥΛΙ, e. g. *Isai*, v, 18).

<sup>(7)</sup> It is possible to read ΝΑΝΟΥΠΑΠΑ ΝΟΥ «the great Apa is excellent», but probably it was not so intended. I suspect the writer has noted down the names of four of his friends with satirical nicknames.

## 160. Ostrakon from room 700 K.

ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΡΩΨ  
 ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑΝΧΩΧ  
 ΚΓΙΛΑΤΕΡCΩ  
 ΜΑΚΙΤΟΝC

5 Γ

Papnoute the . . . ., Makare Kandjodj <sup>(1)</sup>, . . . . . Macedonius(?), 3.

## 161. Ostrakon.

ΜΗΝΑ ΑΣΑΜ  
 ΜΗΝΑ ΠΙ'Ο ΚΟΥC  
 ΠΩΝΘΕΔΟCΕ  
 ΠΜΕΛΕ ΠΩΟΙ

5 Κ

Mena . . . . . <sup>(2)</sup>, Mena the . . . ., the son of Theodosius, the . . . ., the lanky(?) <sup>(3)</sup>, 20.

## 162. Ostrakon.

ΠΑΠΑ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ  
 ΑΠΑ ΙΑΣΑΝΗC  
 ΚΟΛΛΑΘΕ  
 ΠΙΛΟΘΕΟC

5 Δ

Papa George, Apa John, Colluthus, Philotheos, 4.

## 163. Ostrakon.

. . . . .  
 ΙCΑΚ ΡΕCΘ  
 ΠΕΤΡΕ ΠΩΝΕΝΩΧ  
 ΠΑΥΛΕ ΑΣΑΜ

5 ΠΑΠΜΑΝΣΑΚΙΠ  
 ΠΗ

Isaac . . . ., Peter the son of Enoch, Paul . . . . <sup>(4)</sup>, who belongs to the doctor's(?) <sup>(5)</sup> house, 18.

<sup>(1)</sup> N. pr.(?). Cf. CRUM, *B. M. Cat.*, p. 448 and n. 16 ib.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. note 3 above.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. note 4 above.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. note 3 above.

<sup>(5)</sup> (?) حاكم.

## 164. Ostrakon from room 705.

\* ΕΙΣΠΙΖΕ  
ΠΟΥΩΣΠΕ  
ΠΧΟΙC ΑΥ  
ΖΙΤΝΙC Χ  
5 ΤΑΤΗΕCΡ

Behold . . . . . is the dwelling (of) the Lord, which is <sup>(1)</sup> through Jesus Christ . . . .

## 165. Ostrakon from room 729.

.ΟΥΗ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ  
ΜΞΘ  
ΑΝΦΗ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑC  
ΑΨΩCΝΑΥ  
5 ΑΜ† ΟΥΑ  
ΤΥ. .

## 166. Ostrakon from room 782 (pl. XLII, 3).

2Α. ΟΥΩΧΑΡΑ. . . . . ΑΛΑΡΑ  
† ΑΛΙ2Α. 1: ΟΥΜΙ. Θ  
ΘΑΡΜΜΑΝ2ΑΛΧΠΑ  
2Α. ΙΟΥΜΕΙCΤΟΥΡ  
5 Ι9Λ2Ο4Μ. Β. ΜΠ  
. ΑΡΑ. ΟΥΩΜΗΝ  
. . . . ΜΑΡΑ

## 167. Ostrakon from room 1706.

2ΕΝΠΡΑΝ ΕΠΠΗΩΤ  
ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΕΝ ΠΝΑ Μ  
ΠΕΝΤΑΒ: ΒΕΝΕΡΚΙ ΖΙΤΑΠΡΟ ΝΕ4  
ΠΡΩ. ΗΤΗΣ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ ΙC ΧC ΠΕΜ  
5 ΠΧΟΕΙC ΑΡΙΠΜΕΕΥ ΠΙCΑΝ Ε4ΩΩΝΕ  
ΚΑΘΩΛΙΚΗ ΝΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ Τ. . . . ΑΑΚ† ΠΕΚ  
2ΑΡΑC ΑΥΩ ΑΝΩ. ΕΡΑΙΕΡ. . ΠΕΝΠΗΙΥ.

In the name of the Father, the Son and (the) Spirit of Him <sup>(2)</sup> who worketh by <sup>(3)</sup> the mouth (of) his holy prophets, Jesus Christ the . . . . the Lord; remember the sick brother (the) catholic church <sup>(4)</sup> for whom(?) <sup>(5)</sup> thou didst give thy <sup>(6)</sup> for her and . . . . .

<sup>(1)</sup> I. Ε4(?).

<sup>(2)</sup> It is difficult not to think that ΜΠΕΝΤΑΒ is somehow corrupted from ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ. Then a fresh sentence would begin. ΒΕΝΕΡΚΙ (= 4ΕΝΕΡΓΙ) «he worketh». As it stands the colon and the following Β have to be suppressed in order to translate.

<sup>(3)</sup> ΖΙΤΑΠΡΟ, etc., should be ΖΙΤΝ or ΕΒΟΛΖΙΤΝΤΤΑΠΡΟ ΝΗΕ4ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ (*Luke*, 1, 70).

<sup>(4)</sup> Can this be a reference to persecution by the Arabs?

<sup>(5)</sup> I. ΤΕΤΕΑΚ† (?).

<sup>(6)</sup> The substantive is omitted, presumably CΠΟ4 «blood» or CΩΜΑ «body», unless it is corrupted from ΤΕΤΕΑΚΤΑΑΚ 2ΑΡΟC (cf. *Ephes.*, v, 25).

168. White marble slab with inscription in black ink on both sides found in room 706.

RECTO.

ΕΗΝΙΟΥΝ

.Ε.ΡΙΑ . . . . Π.ΡΟΣ ΕΠΝΑΥ. ΝΤΑΠΑΝΑΧΩ  
ΡΙΤΗΣ . . . . . ΖΕΜΠΧΛΕ ΕΤΖΙΖΟΥ  
ΨΑΧΑ . . . . . ΝΑΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ  
5 ΖΑ . . . . . ΠΩΝΕ ΝΛΕΩ  
.ΕΡΟΚ ΟΥΔΕ ΠΛΕΚΕ ΕΡΟΚΣ.  
ΤΗ ΜΕΚΩΑΝΑΣ.ΡΑΚ .ΖΗΤΗ ΝΝΕΛΛΑΥ ΝΤΕ  
ΟΜ ΟΥΔΕ ΤΙΝΑΜΙΣ ΝΛΕΩΖΩΥΝ .ΕΖΟΥΝ  
ΕΡΟ]Κ.ΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΣΩΒΗ ΝΤΙΜΡΑΣΕΥΧΗ ΝΗ  
10 ΤΗ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΝΑΧΩΡΙ ΝΑΥ ΝΝΕΠΖΚΟ ΝΠΙΕΩΝ ΝΛΕ  
. . ΚΒΑ ΝΘΟΜ ΝΝΕΥΠΩΤ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΟΥ  
ΩΩ ΝΤΙΜΡΑΣΕΥΧΗ ΝΖΗΤΗ ΟΥΤΕ.

VERSO.

ΕΡΕΚΒΑΛΩΩΤ ΝΑ  
ΟΣ ΛΕ . . . . . ΟΣ. ΝΤΘΟΜ ΝΠΠΡΟΣΕ  
15 ΥΧΗ ΕΤ ΠΕΚΛΛΟΣ ΝΑΩΩΚ  
ΝΟΥΕ . . . . . ΠΩΡΖΩΩ.  
ΤΕ ΖΙΤΕ Μ . . . . . ΗΕΤ  
ΟΥ . . ΕΡΠΝΕΥΜΑ  
Τ . . . ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΝΙΜ . . . . . Ε  
20 ΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΠ  
ΣΕΝΑ.ΛΧΩΡΙΝΑΥ ΝΘΙ ΤΕ. ΑΝΙΣΤΕΙ  
Σ . . ΤΕ ΠΚΚΕ ΝΛΕΩΖΩΗΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
ΕΤΙΠΡΟΕΧΗ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΥ

1. Part of a heading written in larger letters with small circles at the extremities as in the *Berlin Kopt. Urk.*, n° 6, 11-15, 18 and frequently elsewhere. On this account, Mr. Crum (who has not seen the original) is inclined to think this is also a spell to protect anchorites from harm. — The writing is for the most part very faint and in some places has entirely disappeared. The translation is fragmentary and in parts uncertain.

RECTO.

. . . . . ηνιον

. . . for the time when the anchorite (goes to live?) in the desert, which inflicts(?) evil . . . . he does . . . . shall bless thee . . . . the stone shall be able to . . . thee, neither . . . . thee before it . . . . before any power; nor shall a power be able to approach thee, nor the places to which he shall be sent to make prayer<sup>(1)</sup> therein; but they shall depart. The poor of this world shall not (be able?) to punish(?) the power; they shall not rush into the place where this prayer is recited therein nor . . . . .

VERSO.

. . . . . thy(?) want of sight(?) shall . . . . . the power of this(?) prayer<sup>(2)</sup> which(?) . . . thy people shall . . . . . be spiritual(?) . . . . every power . . . . approach the . . . . they shall depart viz. the power(?) of the . . . . nor(?) shall darkness be able to come near this prayer which is offered up.

<sup>(1)</sup> I. ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ ΝΖΗΤΗ. — <sup>(2)</sup> I. ΝΤΙΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ.

## INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

(The figures refer to the numbers of the inscriptions.)

ΑΒΕΛ, 27.  
 ΑΒΡΑΣΑΜ, 2, 89, 108.  
 — ΑΠΑ, 117.  
 — ΑΠΑ, ΠΧΩΡΕ, 27.  
 ΑΓΛΘΩΝ, Patr., 115.  
 ΑΔΑΜ, 27, 29.  
 ΑΤΑΜ, 28.  
 ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ, Patr., 115.  
 ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ, Saint, 5.  
 — Archimandr., 1, 150.  
 ΑΛΕΞ, 2, 51 (?), 140.  
 ΑΜΒΡΟΣΙΟΣ, ΑΠΑ, 26, 36, 76.  
 ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ, 62, 118.  
 ΑΜΜΟΝΕ, 158.  
 ΑΝ... ΑΠΑ, 39.  
 ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ, 89.  
 — Αρ., 4.  
 ΑΝΟΥΠ, 33, 89, 58, 159.  
 — ΑΠΑ, 27, 76.  
 ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ, ΑΠΑ, 15.  
 ΑΠΟΛΛΩ, 64, 75, 151, 155.  
 — ΑΠΑ, of Bawit, 27, 29 (?), 76, 101 (?).  
 — ΠΑΠΑ, 76.  
 — ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ, 27.  
 ΑΠΛΟ, 2.  
 ΑΠΛΩ, 13, 158.  
 Apostles (The), 4, 27, 44.  
 ΑΡΜΑΤΕ, 89.  
 ΑΡΩΝ, 61; cf. 2ΑΡΩΝ.  
 ΑΧΙΛΛΑΣ, Patr., 115.  
 ΑΩΠΗΡ (?), 106.  
 ΒΕΝΙΑΜΙΝ, Patr., 115.  
 ΒΙΚΤΩΡ, 34, 99, 132, 133, 141, 149, 156.  
 — Martyr (?), 89.  
 ΒΛΟΥΦΑΝΕ, 146.  
 ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ, Archangel, *passim*.  
 ΓΕΩΡΓΕ, 1, 6, 9, 24, 25, 28, 34, 51, 75, 89, 119, 120, 121, 123, 126, 129, 139, 144, 150, 162.  
 ΔΑΥΕΙΔ, 49, 106.  
 ΔΑΔ, 29.  
 ΔΙΟΣΤΡΟΦΕ (?), 111.  
 ΕΙΣΙΤΩΡΕ, 49.

ΕΙΣΙΤΟΡΟΣ, 106.  
 Elders, the twenty four, 27.  
 ΕΝΩΧ, 9, 10, 13, 30, 31, 52, 78, 121, 133, 138, 146, 140, 156 (?), 163.  
 — ΑΠΑ, 91, 93, invoc. *passim*.  
 ΕΥΜΕΝΟΣ, Patr., 115.  
 ΖΑ... 144.  
 ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ, 98.  
 ΖΗΘ, 15, 27.  
 ΘΕΔΟΣΕ, 161.  
 ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ, 79, 145.  
 ΘΕΟΤΡΕ, 60, 89.  
 ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ, 114.  
 ΘΩΜΑΣ, Αρ., 4.  
 ΙΑΚΩΒ, 142.  
 ΙΑΚΩΒΒΟΣ, Αρ., 4.  
 ΙΑΡΕΤ, 27.  
 ΙΒΡΑΣΙΜ, 131.  
 ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ, 6, 13, 22, 53, 89, 106, 108, 133, 151, 157, 165.  
 — ΑΠΑ, invoc. *passim*, 14, 91 (?).  
 — Archimandrite, 20, 69.  
 — Bishop (?), 110.  
 ΙΟΥΔΑΣ, Αρ., 4.  
 ΙΟΥΛ... 50.  
 ΙΟΥΣΤΕ, 70.  
 ΙΣΑΚ, 35, 55, 58, 159, 163.  
 ΙΣΑΑΚ, 151.  
 ΙΩΣΗΦ, 27, 34, 67, 81, 89, 142.  
 — ΠΕΩΩ, 89, 146, 148.  
 ΙΩΣΑΠΗΝΣ, 1, 26, 30, 69, 77, 78, 89, 92, 111, 117, 121 (?), 134, 135, 150, 158, 159, 162.  
 — 29<sup>th</sup> Patr., 115.  
 — 30<sup>th</sup> Patr., 115.  
 — ΜΠΑΚΕ, 27.  
 ΚΑΛΛΙΝΧ, 65.  
 ΚΑΝΧΩΧ, 160.  
 ΚΕΛΛΑΔ[ΙΩΝ], Patr., 115.  
 ΚΛΟΥΧ, 45, 48, 158.  
 ΚΟΛ... 148.  
 ΚΟΛΛΑΘΕ, 162.  
 ΚΟΥΙ, 146.  
 ΚΟΥΠΡΕ, 149.

ΚΥΡΕ, 11, 13, 94, 134 (?).  
 ΚΙΡΕ, 6, 34, 84.  
 ΚΕ, 150.  
 ΚΥΡΑΚΟΣ (?), 19.  
 ΚΙΡΙΚΟΣ, 35.  
 ΛΙΧΑΜΜΩΝ, 96, 98, 150.  
 ΜΑΘΕΟΣ, Αρ., 4.  
 ΜΑΘΟΥΣΑΛΑ, 15, 27.  
 ΜΑΚΑΡΕ, 89, 147, 148, 160.  
 — of Egypt (?), 27.  
 ΜΑΚΕΝΤΕ, 106.  
 ΜΑΚΙΤΟΝΣ, 160.  
 ΜΑΡΘΑ, 85.  
 ΜΑΡΙΑ, 45, 58, 85.  
 — The Virgin invoc. *passim*.  
 ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΣ, Patr., 115.  
 ΜΑΡΚΟΣ, 92.  
 ΜΑΡΤΟΥΡΙΑ, 27.  
 Martyrs (The), 27.  
 ΜΗΝΑ, 34, 40, 69, 106, 133, 150, 158 (?), 161, 165.  
 — Saint, 26.  
 ΜΙΧΛΗΛ, 68, 109.  
 — Archangel, invoc. *passim*.  
 ΜΩΥΣΗΣ, ΑΠΑ, 27.  
 ΝΑΟΥ (?), 108.  
 ΝΑΖΡΟΥ, 63, 139.  
 ΝΕΩΧΟΔΟΝΟС, 124.  
 ΝΕСΝΗΥ, 65.  
 ΝΙΩΤΕΡΩΥ, 10.  
 ΝΟΝΕ, 44.  
 ΝΩΣΕ, 15.  
 ΟΥΕΡΩΕΝΟΥЧЕ, 49, 55.  
 ΠΑΙΕ, 43.  
 ΠΑΙΟΥ, 71.  
 ΠΑΜΟΥΙ (?), 73.  
 ΠΑΜΟΥΝ, 144.  
 ΠΑΝΑΥΝ, 54.  
 ΠΑΝΙСΝΗΥ, ΑΠΑ, 26, 29, 36.  
 ΠΑΝЕСΝΗΥ, 93.  
 ΠΑΠНОΥТЕ, 8, 110 (?), 142, 143, 160.  
 — ΑΠΑ, 21.  
 ΠΑΠΟΥ (?), 78.  
 ΠΑΠΟΣΕ (?), 106.

ΠΑΣ... 49.  
 ΠΑΤΕΡΜΟΥΤΕ, 46.  
 Patriarchs (The), 15, 21, 27.  
 ΠΑΤΡ...ΙΝΕ, 144.  
 ΠΑΥΛΕ, 16, 47, 51, 61, 89, 107, 163.  
 ΠΛΩΝΕ(?), 116.  
 ΠΛΩΤΩ, 106.  
 ΠΛΩΜ, 30.  
 ΠΕΤΡΕ, 19, 26, 31, 83, 93, 104, 163.  
 ΠΕΤΡΟΣ, 17<sup>th</sup> Patr., 115.  
 — Αρ., 4.  
 ΠΕΩΩ, 95, 159.  
 Prophets (The), 15.  
 ΠΤΟΛΕΜΙΟΣ, 81.  
 ΠΩΟΙ(?), 159, 161.  
 — ΑΠΑ, 26, 36.  
 ΣΑΡΜΑΤΕ(?), v. ΑΡΜΑΤΕ.

ΣΑΡΜΑΤΕ(?), ΑΠΑ, 26, 36, 75, 76.  
 ΣΑΧΑΡΙΑ, 107, 108; v. ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ.  
 ΣΕΡΣΙΟΣ, 133.  
 Seth, v. ΖΗΘ.  
 ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ, 122.  
 ΣΙΒΥΛΛΑ, vars. ΑΜΑ 1, 5, 12, 23, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 43, 44, 48, 50, 53, 54, 59, 62, 65, 76(?), 82, 120, 150.  
 ΣΙΜΩΝ ΠΚ/, Αρ., 4.  
 ΣΟΥΡΟΥΣ, ΑΠΑ, 27.  
 ΣΟΥΣΑΝΝΑ, 27.  
 ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ, 122.  
 ΣΤΕΦΗΝΑΚΙ(?), 125.  
 ΤΑΥΡΙΝΕ, 83.  
 ΤΕΡΜΟΥΤΕ, m., 13.  
 — f., 45.  
 ΤΙΟСКЕ, 88.  
 ΤΟΥΡΣΙΝ, 158.

ΦΙΒ, 28, 73, 113, 158.  
 — ΑΠΑ, 27, 73, 76.  
 ΦΙΛΑΛΙΑ, 76.  
 ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΣ, 11, 66, 89, 162.  
 ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ, 10, 13, 92(?), 158.  
 ΦΟΙ...ΗΡ, 60.  
 ΦΟΙΩ, 13.  
 ΩΡ, 3.  
 ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ, 129, 130, 133, 134.  
 ΨΗΠΟΥΤΕ, 89.  
 ΨΟΙ, 21, 32(?), 145(?).  
 ΖΑΡΩΝ, 146.  
 ΖΕΡΜΙΝΕ, 7.  
 ΖΗΛΙΑΣ, 89.  
 ΖΗΧ. ΕΙΑΣ, 82.  
 ΖΩΡ, 82, 106, 134.  
 — ΑΠΑ, 26, 36, 76.  
 ΧΩΩΡΕ, 124.  
 ΘΑΜΟΥΛ, 13, 49(?).

## TITLES, OCCUPATIONS, ETC.

ΑΜΑ, *passim*.  
 ΑΜΙΡ/, 111.  
 ΑΠΑ, *passim*.  
 — (= ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ), 39(?), 48, 91, 132.  
 ΑΡΧΗΓΟΣ(?), 15.  
 ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ, 1, 15, 20, 69, 150.  
 ΑΣΑΜ, 159, 161, 163(?).  
 ΒΑΡΩΣ, 13.  
 ΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ, 13.  
 ΔΙΑΚΩΝ, 6, 13, 24, 124, 146.  
 ΔΟΥΛΟΣ, 134.  
 ΕΚΩΤ, 89.  
 ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ, 15, 110(?).  
 ΖΩΓΡΑΦΟΣ, 92.  
 ΙΩΤ ΠΑΝΓΩΧ(?), 139.  
 ΙΩΤ ΝΕΤΩΩΝΕ, 69.  
 ΙΩΤ ΠΜΑΝΕΤΩΩΝΕ, 2, 113(?), 117(?).  
 ΚΛΗΝΓΕΤΗΣ, 94.  
 ΚΛΣΕ, 89.

ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ(?), 108.  
 ΚΟΟΡΕ, 134.  
 ΛΑΧΟΣ, 13, 106.  
 ΛΟΓΟΘΕΤΗΣ, 111.  
 ΜΑΛΥ ΠΤΝΟΣ(?) ΜΜΟΝΗ, 27.  
 ΜΑΝΕ, 158.  
 ΜΑΡΤΗ[ΡΟΣ], 97.  
 ΜΑΤΟΙ, 159.  
 ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ, 133, 143.  
 ΝΟΤΑΡΙΟΣ, 10, 11, 13, 16, 96, 117, 133, 137, 149, 150, 151.  
 ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ, 73, 117(?).  
 ΠΑΠΑ, 6, 12, 26, 29, 47, 48, 55, 64, 71, 76, 80, 93, 95, 158, 162.  
 ΠΑΠΕΡΝΕΣ, 132.  
 ΠΑΠΜΑΝΟΥΩΜ, 13, 64, 116, 123.  
 ΠΑΠΜΑΝΣΑΚΙΝ, 163.  
 ΠΑΠΡΟ, 147.  
 ΠΑΤΕΩΝΗ, 8, 81.  
 ΠΑΤΡΙ ΝΑΠΑ, 48.  
 ΠΑΤΡΙ ΝΕΚΟΥΙ, 144(?).  
 ΠΙΒΩ. С(?), 158.  
 ΠΙΝΚΕΡΝΕΣ, 133, 155.

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ, 91.  
 ΠΡΟΕΣΤΩΣ, 15, 150.  
 ΡΑΣΤ, 16.  
 ΡΑΔΙΑΚΟΝΙ, 2.  
 ΡΑΡΟΕΙΣ, 61, 106, 138, 147, 148, 149, 157.  
 ΡΑΩΩ, 122, 143(?).  
 ΣΑΜΠΑ...(?), 129.  
 ΣΑΣ(ΨΑΣ), 13, 16, 25, 34, 78(?), 134(?).  
 ΣΙΟΟΝ(?), 133.  
 ΣΙΟΥΡ, 33.  
 ΨΑΛΜΩΔΟΣ, 119.  
 ΨΑΛΤΗΣ, 94.  
 ΧΩΩ(?) , 160.  
 ΖΑΜΩΕ, 6(?), 78, 89, 109(?), 145(?), 146, 157.  
 ΖΑΥΩ(?) (ΦΑΥΩ), 66.  
 ΖΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ, 63, 150.  
 ΖΜΟΥ, 89, 158.  
 ΖΥΠΟΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ, 122.  
 ΖΥΠΟΝΟΤΑΡΙΟΣ, 98, 133, 155(?).



# EGYPTIAN TEXTS<sup>(1)</sup>

BY

PROF. W. SPIEGELBERG.

## DANKSCHREIBEN DES KÖNIGS ESSE AN SEINEN VEZIER.

1  
|

(sic) (sic)

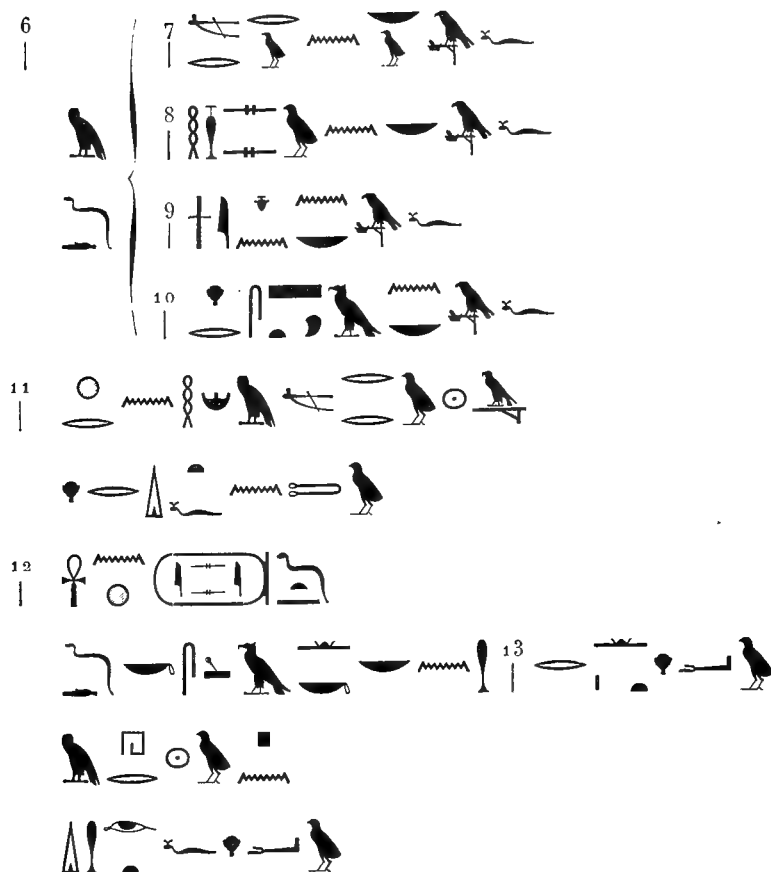
2  
|

3  
|

4  
|

5  
|

<sup>(1)</sup> Die sämtlichen hieroglyphischen Texte sind nach den Photographieen und Abschriften Quibells gegeben, mit Ausnahme von C, wo mir nur die letzteren zur Verfügung standen. Der obige Text, dessen wahre Anordnung man ebenso wie die genaue Form der Hieroglyphen aus der Lichtdrucktafel LXI entnehmen kann, ist nach dem Vorbilde der *Urkunden* (ed. Selhe-Steindorff) in Sätze abgeteilt worden.



## UMSCHRIFT.

<sup>1</sup> wd šwtmj sb sbh.t(?) twtj mr<sup>c</sup> šwtmj Špsš(w)-R<sup>c</sup>  
<sup>2</sup> 'w m<sub>3</sub>-n h.m<sup>(1)</sup>(?)(-j) sš pn nfr nfr rdjj(-w)-n-k 'n.t-f m štp-s; m hrw pn nfr n šndm 'b 'ss' m<sup>c</sup>  
<sup>3</sup> m mrr.t-f m<sup>c</sup> m<sup>c</sup> mrj h.m<sup>(1)</sup>(?)(-j) m<sub>3</sub> sš-k pn r 'ht nb rh-tw tr dd mrr.t h.m<sup>(1)</sup>(?)(-j) r 'ht nb  
<sup>4</sup> twt tr n(-j) dd-k r 'ht nb 'w hm h.m<sup>(1)</sup>(?)(-j) rh(-j) mrr-k dd 'ht nb mrr.t h.m<sup>(1)</sup>(?)(-j)  
<sup>5</sup> ' Špsš(w)-R<sup>c</sup> 'w dd hr-k hh n sp  
<sup>6</sup> m dd mrr-w n nbw(sic)-f  
<sup>8</sup> hssw n nb-f  
<sup>9</sup> 'mj 'b n nb-f  
<sup>10</sup> hrj sšt; n nb-f  
<sup>11</sup> hr nhm(-wj) mrr-w R<sup>c</sup> hr rdjj.t n(-j) tw 'nh 'ss' dt dd-k š-k nb n h.m<sup>(1)</sup>(?)(-j) 'r š<sup>c</sup>.t(?) -k  
<sup>13</sup> hr 'w(j) m hrw pn dj h.m<sup>(1)</sup>(?)(-j) 'r.t-f hr 'w(j)






## ÜBERSETZUNG.

- <sup>1</sup> Königlicher Erlass (I) an den Oberrichter und Vezier, den Leiter der königlichen Kanzlei  
*Schepsesu-Re* (II).  
<sup>2</sup> Meine Majestät hat diese sehr schöne Schrift gesehen, (III) welche du an den Hof hast bringen





(<sup>1</sup>) Siehe Erman in *Sitzber. Berl. Akad.*, 1907, S. 408.



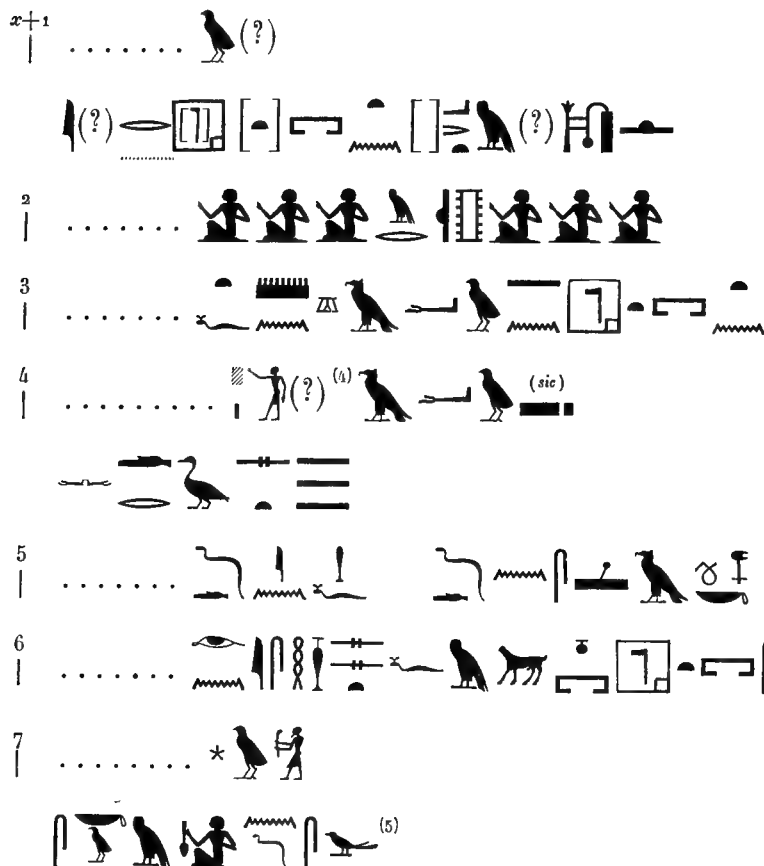
XI. Zu dieser Partikel vgl. *Recueil*, XXIV (1902), 35, und GARDINER, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XLIII (1906), 159.

XII. Zu diesem Gebrauch von , vgl. *Urk.*, I, 128, 14:     „du hast in diesem deinem Brief gesagt“.

#### INHALT.

Der Text ist also ein königliches Dankschreiben an den Vezier, und zwar in der Form eines Erlasses<sup>(1)</sup>, und berührt sich in den Formeln ebenso stark mit denen der Briefe dieser Zeit<sup>(2)</sup>, wie es von denen der späteren Zeit abweicht. Man fühlt deutlich heraus, welchen hohen Wert der Verfasser, vermutlich ein „Königlicher Schreiber“ auf die Form legte, wie es der Orientale zu allen Zeiten that. So mag auch die Freude des Königs Esse über den Brief seines Veziers mehr dem gewählten Stil<sup>(3)</sup> als dem Inhalt gegolten haben, von dem unser Text uns nichts verrät. Sollte etwa der Vezier über die Reisen des Prinzen     *K3-m-tnn.t* berichtet haben, in Verbindung mit denen er in den folgenden Inschriftfragmenten (B 10, 12) erwähnt wird?

#### FRAGMENT A (TAFEL LXI, 3).



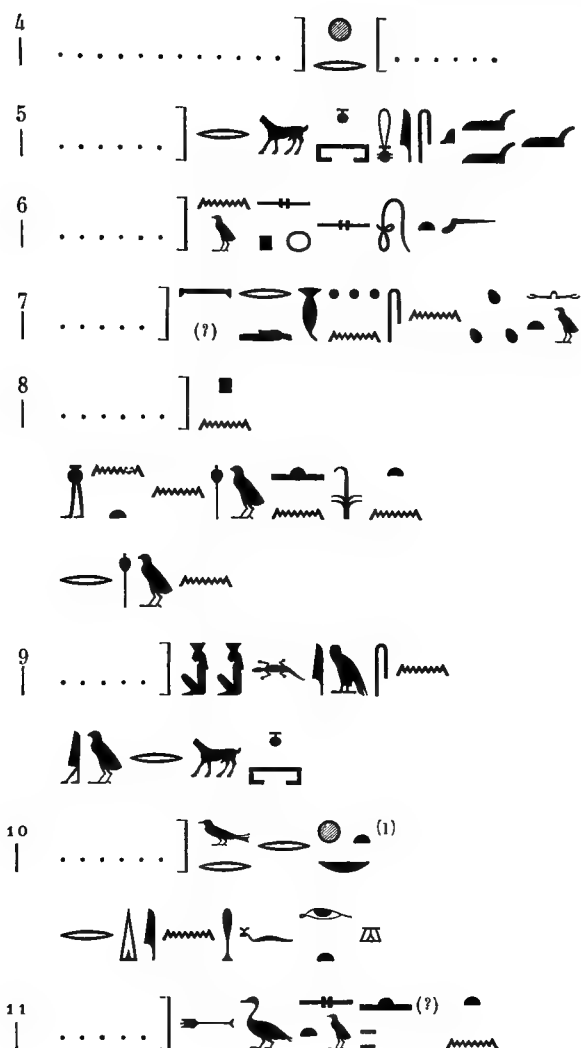






[illegible]

(2) Quibell : .





In diesen Inschriftresten hat uns Quibell den Text wiedergegeben, der unter den Papieren Mariettes (*Mastabas*, S. 188) verloren gegangen war. Wie die Zitate in *Brugsch's Wörterbuch* IV S. 1675 zeigen, war ihm der Text zugänglich gewesen.




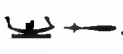

Es ist sehr zu beklagen, dass von dieser Inschrift nur die unteren Zeilenreste, vielleicht nur  $\frac{1}{4}$  des ursprünglichen Umfangs, erhalten geblieben sind. Denn was man jetzt noch feststellen kann, zeigt uns, dass der Text von ganz besonderer Wichtigkeit war. Er enthält die Biographie des Grabinhabers , *K<sub>2</sub>-m-tnn.t*, der, wie die Erwähnung der Veziers *Schepsesu-Re* zeigt, unter dem König Esse lebte. Er war 




«Königssohn, einziger Freund, Schatzmeister des Gottes (*i. e.* des Pharao), Vorsteher aller

(1) Vgl. oben zu B, 8.

Arbeiten des Königs, welchen sein Herr liebt, Vorsteher aller Erlasse des Königs, der den Schrecken des Horus in die Fremdländer setzt.»

Soweit ich sehen kann<sup>(1)</sup>, findet sich die letzte Wendung stets bei hohen Beamten, welche Expeditionen ins Ausland geleitet haben. Darauf weisen auch der Titel  und die militärischen Titel, welche sich auf seine Stellung im Landheere  und bei der Flotte   beziehen. Als Kapitän , *mr 'pr*, ist unser *K3-m-tnn.t* wahrscheinlich auch im Grabe des Ptahhotep (ed. Davies II Tafel 10) dargestellt, wo er in Verbindung mit Schiffen erscheint.

In der That nahm in seiner leider so verstümmelten Grabinschrift seine Thätigkeit als Seemann den grössten Raum ein. Seine Fahrten galten, soweit ich die inschriftlichen Reste deuten kann, friedlichen Zwecken, und zwar dem Transport von Baumaterialien für Grabbauten (Fragm. A, Zeile 15-19)<sup>(2)</sup>, «Es geschah nun die Fahrt auf zwei grossen Schiffen» beginnt der Bericht. Ein besonders grosses Stück von 5 Ellen × [x Ellen] war für den «schönen Platz der Ewigkeit» also ein Grab, wohl das des Königs Esse bestimmt. Sehr bedauerlich ist die Lücke hinter Z. 19. «Seine Majestät sah dieses, was an(?) diesem Sphinx-Löwen war.» Wer weiss, ob hier nicht von dem grossen Sphinx von Gise die Rede war! Besondere Beachtung verdient der Name  *m*; «Löwe» für das Löwenbild des Königs<sup>(3)</sup>.

Ob B, 2 fg., sich noch auf dieselbe Expedition bezieht, ist mir nicht sicher, aber auch hier handelt es sich um eine Unternehmung auf dem Nil (*jtrw* Zeile 4, 6). Ein heftiger Sturm überraschte die Flotte, auf der auch *K3-m-tnn.t* war, «an diesem Tage des über alles heftigen Unwetters». Sie wurde in alle Winde zerstreut, wenn ich recht verstehe und ergänze — «nicht fand ich irgend welche Leute (wieder), sie waren überall hin zerstreut(?) infolge des Sturmes». Auf diesen «heftigen Sturm»<sup>(4)</sup> auf dem Fluss» wird auch später (Zeile 6) Bezug genommen. Indessen scheint schliesslich die Expedition gut verlaufen zu sein, und der Kommandant der Flotte(?) «war über alles froh, (denn) es fehlte ihm nichts»<sup>(5)</sup>. Dem Bericht über diese Fahrt erstattete *K3-m-tnn.t* anscheinend selbst dem Pharaon, der darauf erwidert «es war wie das Fahren auf dem grossen See des Re», was vielleicht ein Lob der glücklich verlaufenen Fahrt bedeuten soll. Darauf berief der König den Vezier *Schepsesu-Re* an seinen Hof und ordnete die Auszeichnungen für *K3-m-tnn.t* an, die unter anderem darin bestanden, dass der König ihm «Totenopfer aus allen Ressorts der Finanzverwaltung festsetzen liess».

Das ist etwa der Inhalt, den ich dem Fragment entnehmen zu können glaube. Wie viel daran problematisch ist, brauche ich kaum hervorzuheben. Gewiss wird eine weitere Bearbeitung noch manches Interessante trotz aller Zerstörung ermitteln können.

<sup>(1)</sup> Vgl. *Urk.*, I, 124, 3 132, 3, 135, 6, 141, 16.

<sup>(2)</sup> Vgl. z. B. den ähnlichen Bericht in der Unainschrift Z. 37 ff.



<sup>(3)</sup> Vgl. *Sethe* bei BORCHARDT, *Sitzungsber.*, Berl. Akad. XXXV (1897), S. 759 Anm. 2.

<sup>(4)</sup> Dieselbe Verbindung *ḏw k3j* auch Bauer 244-5.

<sup>(5)</sup> Zu dem Ausdruck vgl. *Urk.*, I, 16, 16. 152, 16.

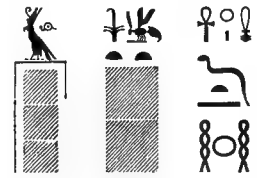
DIE NEKTANEBÈS-STELE<sup>(1)</sup> (TAFEL LII).


Höhe 1,62 m, Breite 0,92 m, Dicke 0,40 m. Material : Nach Daressy Sandsteinkonglomerat (grès jaune siliceux) des Gebel el-Ahmar bei Cairo.

Das obere Halbrund ist durch das dem abgerundeten Rande folgende gebogene Himmelszeichen (—) begrenzt, unter dessen beiden Enden je ein Scepter  erscheint, welches den seitlichen Rahmen der Stele bildet. Unter dem Himmel ist die geflügelte Sonnenscheibe mit zwei Uraeen dargestellt. Auf sie bezieht sich die Inschrift .


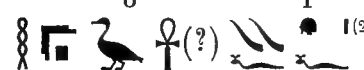
Darunter folgt die eigentliche Darstellung, die Verehrung des Apisstieres durch den König, der zur Anbetung des heiligen Tieres niederkniet. Von seinem Namen — es ist Nektanebès — ist noch erhalten :

Die Königsnamen sind in dem Loch verschwunden, welches bei der späteren Benutzung der Stele für die Thürangel ausgehauen worden ist.

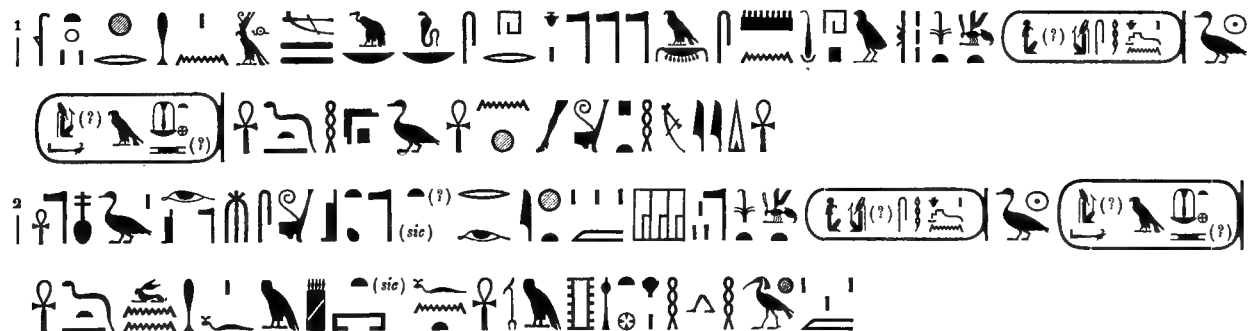


Hinter dem König ist sein Ka dargestellt, der  in der üblichen Weise mit dem Königskopf auf einer Stange, die von einem der zwei Arme gehalten wird, die aus dem

Ka-namen  herauskommen.

Vor dem König stand ein Opfertisch, der ebenso *absichtlich* ausgekratzt ist wie die Köpfe des Königs und des Apis. Die zugehörige Inschrift  zeigt, dass der König ein « Totenopfer » darbringt, also den toten Apis (Osorapis) verehrt. Dieser ist als <sup>(2)</sup> bezeichnet.

## HIEROGLYPHISCHER TEXT.



<sup>(1)</sup> Für die Feststellung des Textes war ich auf die Textausgabe Daressys in den *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, IX (1908), S. 154 ff. angewiesen, die ich nach einem sehr ungenügenden Papierabdruck und einer guten photographischen Aufnahme revidiert habe. Wo ich Daressys Text nicht kontrollieren konnte, d. h. wo die Photographie versagte, habe ich ihn durch untergesetzte Punkte gekennzeichnet. Zweifellos wird aus der schwer lesbaren Inschrift am Original noch mehr herauszulesen sein.

<sup>(2)</sup> Vgl. *Recueil*, XXII (1900), S. 171, n° CH.





## ÜBERSETZUNG.

† «Im Jahre 2 unter der Majestät des Königs Nektanebês<sup>(2)</sup>, des ewig Lebenden, der von dem Apis, dem sich erneuernden Leben des Ptah, geliebt ist, der mit Leben begabt ist.

‡ Der lebende, gute Gott, Sohn des Osiris, geboren von Isis, . . . . . um(?) in den Tempeln der Götter zu opfern, Nektanebês<sup>(2)</sup>, der ewig lebende. Als seine Majestät in seinem Palast, in dem Leben und Glück herrscht<sup>(3)</sup>, in Memphis war, indem er herrliche Thaten vollbringen wollte unter

<sup>(1)</sup> Die übrigens unsichere Ergänzung nach *Recueil*, XXII (1900), 11, Zeile 8.

<sup>(2)</sup> Ich setze den bekannten manethonischen Namen für das lange Protokoll ein.

<sup>(3)</sup> Vgl. *Recueil*, XIX (1897), 89 Anm. 3 und SETHE in *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXXVIII (1900), 143.

<sup>3</sup> [den Göttern Aegyptens(?)], da befahl seine Majestät, die Stätte des Apis zu bauen, in vortrefflicher Arbeit der Ewigkeit. Nach einiger Zeit kam man, um seiner Majestät zu sagen: Die Stätte des lebenden Apis ist gebaut

<sup>4</sup> [nach dem Befehl] deiner Majestät. Ihre Thüren sind mit Gold verziert(?) ihre Thürflügel [ . . . . . ] überzogen [ . . . . . ] aus Silber, überzogen [ . . . . . ], über alles schön anzusehen. Nachdem seine Majestät dieses gehört hatte, begab sich seine Majestät in den Tempel des Ptah. Er machte

<sup>5</sup> [ . . . . . ] welche seine Majestät gemacht hatte. Nachdem seine Majestät einen Platz gebaut hatte, an dem dieser Gott sich zur Ruhe begab (= starb) in vortrefflicher Arbeit von

<sup>6</sup> [ . . . . . ] in dem Einbalsamierungsraum an diesem schönen Tage bis zu dem Tage der Beisetzung. Verzeichniss der Dinge, welche seine Majestät in den Einbalsamierungsraum bringen liess:

Gold — 476 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n* 3 Kite.

Silber — 5698 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n* 3 Kite.

<sup>7</sup> [ . . . . . ] für diesen Einbalsamierungsraum 1266 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, . . . von Vieh(?)<sup>(1)</sup> 3226, 'nf(?)<sup>(2)</sup> Mineral 100 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, aus dem Königshaus geliefertes Gewebe(?) 11400 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, bitumen<sup>(3)</sup> aus Phœnizien, bitumen

<sup>8</sup> [ aus . . . . . ] *x d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, Myrrhen 30,000 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, . . . Cyperus 100 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, frisches Harz<sup>(4)</sup> 15,000 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, Oasen-Harz 200 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, aegyptisches Harz 10 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, Harz produkt(?) 25 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, Pech

<sup>9</sup> [ *x d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n* ], Natron vom Wadi Natrun 59 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, (Natron) aus der Oase 200 (*d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*), Natron von El Kab 1500(?) (*d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) mit allen [ . . . wie ] es aufgezeichnet ist(?), *dnj* 2000 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, Honig 2000 *hin*-Maasse, Oasen-Oel 20 *hnw*-Maasse, unteraegyptisches Oel

<sup>10</sup> [ *x +* ] 3090 [Maasse] . . . Ricinusoel 12,000 [ *+ x* ] *hin*-Maasse [ . . . . . ] + 1000, 394 Rinder ('*h*) 29 Stiere ('*w*), 773 Mastgänse, 285 Tauben,

<sup>11</sup> [ . . . . . ] Wein aus der Oase 22 (*hin*-Maasse), Most aus der Oase 5(?) (*hin*-Maasse), *tpj* 35000 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, 100 *mkj* aus Cyperus, reich gefüllte(?) Körbe(?),

<sup>12</sup> [ . . . . . ] viele schöne und süsse Dinge, 20 Artaben . (?) . . . . Augenschminke aus Koptos 100 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, Augenschminke aus Byblos(?) 100 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n* 3 Kite, das beste von . . (?) . . 10 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, *h<sub>1</sub>tm*-Mineral 50 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, *h<sub>1</sub>ntj*-Mineral

<sup>13</sup> *x d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n* . . . . . ] 250(?) *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n* . . (?) . . . 50 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n* . . (?) . . . 300 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*, 20,000 Akazienhölzer, 1500 Artaben Brennholz(?), 20,000 Bündel '*dh*-Papyrus, 500 Matten aus '*dh*-Papyrus, [ *x* ] Bündel *w<sub>3</sub>d*-Papyrus,

<sup>14</sup> [ . . . . . ] . . . . . (?) . . . . . (?) . . . . . Stoffe von Priesterarbeit(?) und die Vorlesepriester und die Arbeiter(?), welche in dem Einbalsamierungsraum die Reinigung machen(?). Da machte seine Majestät

<sup>(1)</sup> Vgl. Pap. Berlin 3031 6/4 (Hierat. Pap. II, 49).

<sup>(2)</sup> Brugsch: Wb. V. 93.

<sup>(3)</sup> S. LORET: *Recueil*, XVI (1894), S. 157 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> Vgl. LORET: *Kyphi* 58 ff.


<sup>15</sup> [ein grosses Opfer] . . (?) . . . . . mit allen Dingen [ . . . . . ] im Einbalsamierungsraum . . . (?) . . . Seine Majestät liess ein grosses Opfer veranstalten 45 Tage lang. Seine Majestät liess schöne Talismane machen aus Gold und allen echten Edelsteinen, nicht war früher gleiches gemacht worden, sowie Kleider(?).

<sup>16</sup> . . . . . ] Da machte seine Majestät die Einbalsamierung. Es wurde Oel an die Gottes-Glieder gethan. Seine Majestät liess Stoffe bringen aus dem Stoffmaterial(?)<sup>(1)</sup> aller Götter und Stoffe aus dem Süd-und Nordzimmer<sup>(2)</sup>, gewebt(?) von der Göttin *Tait*. Am 19. Choiak

<sup>17</sup> . . . . . ] Seine Majestät [brachte ein] grosses [Opfer] dar mit Stieren, Mastgänsen, Wein und allen schönen Dingen in der grossen Opferhalle des Einbalsamierungsraums . . (?) . . . Seine Majestät liess 6000 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n* Binden(?) in das Serapeum bringen.

<sup>18</sup> [Seine Majestät . . . . . ] um ihn beizusetzen in dem Serapeum neben der Nekropolis von Memphis<sup>(3)</sup>. Nachdem seine Heiligkeit(?) (d. i. der tote Apis) mitten in (?)<sup>(4)</sup> die beiden grossen Thore gekommen war, fand er seine Majestät dastehen in seinem Gefolge wie den Falken, der auf seinem Banner steht.»

## INHALT DER STELE.

Der Inhalt ist kurz folgender. In seinem 2 Regierungsjahre, also etwa 377 v. Chr., hatte Nektanebês «eine Stätte des *lebenden Apis*» bauen lassen. Vielleicht ist diese Baulichkeit mit dem Tempel des Nektanebês identisch, den Mariette südlich von dem Serapeum entdeckt hat, dem «temple de Nectanébo I<sup>er</sup>, qui est un temple d'Apis *vivant*»<sup>(5)</sup>. Er war also für den lebenden Apis bestimmt, der dort seinen Stall und seine Kulträume erhalten sollte, nachdem sein Vorgänger gestorben war. Auf die Bestattung des letzteren bezieht sich der grösste Teil der Inschrift, Z. 5-18. Der König liess seinen Grabraum im Serapeum herrichten und sorgte für die Einbalsamierung des Tieres in der , *w<sup>b</sup>.t*<sup>(6)</sup>. Das ist, wie wir aus zahlreichen Serapeumsstelen wissen, der Raum, in welchem die Einbalsamierung der Apisstiere vorgenommen wurde, die *ταρχελα* in der Schilderung des Diodor I, 83, 5. Für diesen Zweck hatte Nektanebês eine grosse Stiftung gemacht<sup>(7)</sup>, die einmal in der Lieferung alles dessen bestand, was für die Einbalsamierung nötig war, und weiter auch die Opfer betraf, welche der tote Apis verlangte. Sodann verfügte der König die Beisetzung des mumifizierten Stieres in dem Serapeum und nahm persönlich an der Bestattung teil, indem er in der Prozession folgte. Das dürfte der Sinn des Schlusssatzes sein.

<sup>(1)</sup> Vgl. PETRIE, *Abydos*, II, 36 und Stele Berlin 2289 (bei SCHÄFER, *Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos*, S. 29).

<sup>(2)</sup> BRUGSCH, *Dict. géogr.*, 462 und 1175.

<sup>(3)</sup> Dieselbe Bezeichnung für die Apisgräber bei Memphis findet sich, *Recueil*, XVI (1894), S. 49.

<sup>(4)</sup> *m k* — Darunter ist vielleicht die Mitte des nach aussen von den «beiden grossen Thoren», den Pylonen, abgeschlossenen Tempelhofes zu verstehen.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (ed. Maspero), S. 76.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Recueil*, XXI, 72, n° 35; Zeile 2, 7, XXII, 20, n° 63; Zeile 4, *ib.*, 21, n° 64; Z. 4, *ib.* 167, n° 90; Z. 4, *ib.* 175, n° 116, Z. 6, u. s. — Siehe jetzt auch GARDINER, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Seite 26. — Infolge der unrichtigen Deutung dieses Wortes hat Daressy den Text in einem Hauptpunkte missverstanden.

<sup>(7)</sup> Welche Summen noch in der Ptolemäerzeit und später für die Beisetzung eines Apisstieres ausgegeben wurde, ersieht man aus Diodor I, 84.



## DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

FRONTISPIECE. — From a watercolour copy of the painting in the niche of a cell (n° 709), now removed to the Museum.

PLATE I. — Plan of the monastery so far as it was excavated at the end of this season. On no side were the limits of the building reached. Two blocks of buildings were cleared; the larger one, the southern, includes the church and the *mandara*; the northern the hospital (?) and the wine-cellar; between them was a large mound which was left to the next winter. The numbers on the plan are those of the field notes; their sequence is one of time only, the cells with lower numbers being those dug first. It would perhaps have been more convenient to the reader to have renumbered the rooms according to their position but this would have involved either a second marking of all the objects found or else the use of two different sets of numbers; the risk of error would have been considerable.

The following table gives references to the plates for all the rooms of which an illustration is given or in which any objects reproduced were found :

Rooms.	Plates.	Rooms.	Plates.
703. Capital.....	XVI A, 2.	726. Stones of south door.	XXXI.
— .....	XXII, 1.	Pilaster capital....	XXXII, 1.
Inscription .....	XLVIII, 7.	Bricks of roof.....	XLIII, 3.
704. View.....	XV, 1.	727. Painting.....	XI, 4.
Capital.....	XXII, 3.	Inscription.....	L, 2.
705. Capital.....	XVI, 2.	728. View.....	VI.
Stoup.....	XXIX, 6.	East wall.....	XIV, 3.
Gate jambs.....	XXX.	Conch.....	XXXVII, 1.
Cornice.....	XXXV, 5.	Inscription .....	L, 3.
Cross.....	XXXVIII, 1, 2.	733. Painting .....	X, 4.
Bench.....	XLIII, 4.	Bench.....	XV, 2.
Greek inscription...	LI, 1.	740. Inscription.....	XLV, 6 (top).
706. Paintings.....	XI, 3.	744. Inscription.....	XLVIII, 8.
Nekhthorheb inscr..	LII.	773. Paintings.....	XII, 1, 2; XIII, 1.
709. Paintings .....	Front., VIII, IX, X, 1, 2, 3.	Buttresses .....	XIII, 2.
710. Capital.....	XVI A, 1.	Capital .....	XXIV, 2.
— .....	XVI, 1.	Inscription .....	XLIV, 4.
Inscription .....	XLIX, 1.	779. Inscription .....	XLV, 4 (low).
712. Cross.....	XXXVIII, 5 (left).	781. Capital .....	XXIV, 6.
722. Impost .....	XLV, 3.	785. Stones.....	XXXV, 1, 2.
726. North door.....	XIV, 1.	787. View.....	XIII, 3.
South door.....	XIV, 2.	Inscription .....	XLIX, 4.
Capital .....	XXVIII, 1, 4, 5.	788. View.....	XIII, 3.
		789. View.....	XIII, 3.

Rooms.	Plates.	CHURCH ( <i>cont<sup>d</sup></i> ):	Plates.
789. Pilaster capital....	XXXII, 2.	Capitals.....	XVII-XXI.
Stone .....	XXXVI, 3.	— .....	XXII, 4, 5, 6.
Inscription .....	XLV, 1.	— .....	XXIII, XXIV, 1.
792. View .....	XV, 3.	— .....	XXV, XXVI.
Stones from wall...	XXVIII, 2.	— .....	XXVII, 2, 3, 4, 6.
— ...	XXXIV, 1, 2, 4.	— .....	XXIX, 3.
— ...	XXXV, 7.	Consoles .....	XLIII, 2.
— ...	XXXVI, 2.	Base .....	XXIX, 5.
— ...	XLV, 4 (mid).	Frieze .....	XXXV, 3.
— ...	XLIX, 5.	Cornice .....	XXXVI, 1, 4, 8.
793. Pilaster capital....	XXXII, 3 (top).	Stoup .....	XXIX, 4.
796. Capital .....	XXII, 2.	— (North of Ch.).	XIV, 4.
797. Capital .....	XXVIII, 3.	Marble bowl.....	XLII, 1.
Stones.....	XXXIV, 3.	Conch .....	XXXVII, 4.
1701. View .....	XIII, 4.	Stand for jars....	XXXVIII, 3.
Stone from arch....	XXXVI, 5.	Woodwork.....	XXXIX.
Wooden cat.....	XL, 5.	— .....	XL, 1 (left), 3, 4.
1702. View .....	XIII, 4.	Toys .....	XL, 5.
1703. Frieze, fragment of.	XXXV, 4.	Bronze .....	XLI, 2.
1704. View .....	VII.	Semidome, blocks	
Stones from screen..	XXXIII.	from.....	XLIII, 1.
Console .....	XL, 1 (right).	Inscriptions.....	XLIV, 3.
Graffito .....	L, 1.	— .....	XLV, 2, 5.
1706. Capitals.....	XXIV, 3, 4.	— .....	XLVI, 4.
— .....	XXVII, 1.	— .....	XLVIII, 3, 6.
— .....	XXIX, 1.	— .....	XLIX, 2.
Screen.....	XXXIII.	— (Greek).	LI, 2.
Abacus .....	XLV, 4 (top).	MANDARA :	
1714. Painting .....	X, 5.	View .....	II, III, V.
Capital .....	XXIX, 2.	Inscriptions.....	XLIV, 1, 2.
CHURCH :		— .....	XLV, 6 (below).
Views .....	II, III, IV, V.	— .....	XLVI, 1.
Pillars.....	XI, 1, 2.	— .....	XLVII, 1.
Narthex.....	XV, 3.	O. K. inscription...	LI, 3.
		Arabic graffito....	L, 4.

PLATE II. — The church as seen from the west, before the east end had been cleared. In the background is the inundation with the twisting line of the dyke which forms the road to Bedra-shein. Next come the ruins dug out by the sebakhin and on the left a bank of débris thrown out from our work.

The middle of the picture is formed by the floor of the church from which the masses of plain stone fragments have been removed, those only which are decorated or inscribed being left. To the right is the remnant of the south wall, showing two pilasters, and beyond it are the still standing columns of the mandara. The projecting angle of massive brick work on the right is a part of the buttressed wall which bounded the way to the church on the west. In the middle of

the narthex, lying on its side, is the cylindrical tub of limestone which was once embedded in the floor close by.

PLATE III. — The church and part of the mandara as seen from the south-east, with the double stairway in the foreground. On each side of the main stair stood a column, against the base of which leaned a slab with a roundel on top enclosing a cross; one of them only was found but the plaster by which the second was attached is visible. On one of the stones on the face of the wall on which this base stood is a graffito of the Muslim profession of faith; it is shown in plate L, 4. Between the seated workman and the standing half-column is the end of the remaining portion of the south wall of the church. Only one face of the wall had been left, so we see here the rough inner side of the blocks. To the right of the man is a disorderly heap of stones, which we left at the time from an idea that there might be some meaning in it; it seems however to be only a heap made by the destroyers of the building.

On the floor of the church most of the bases of columns in the south row are visible; on the right, between the octagonal marble base and the prostrate column is one of the piers(?) of dry masonry, of which it is difficult to say whether they should be attributed to the latest times of Coptic use or to the Arab destroyers. Of the northern row of bases two only are clear (high on right), and of the capitals three. The standing stone beyond them is the Nekhtorheb stela, moved from its original position in the doorway, which appears behind and to the left.

On the west of the church the most prominent objects are the two prostrate columns of granite marking the western door. Between them, but lying inside the narthex, is the limestone tub seen also in the last plate. To the right of the columns is a part of the west wall of the church, composed of two courses of masonry above a beam of wood; the lower course is plastered.

Of the narthex little is to be seen except the cross wall of brick. Further to the west is the buttressed wall which was built to defend the approach to the church. The lower courses of this wall are largely composed of stones taken from the ruins of the first church; the upper part is of brick.

PLATE IV. *Above.* — The Step Pyramid forms the background: in the middle distance is a group of cells (709, 713) fortified by a buttress wall on the south. The east wall of the church is represented by the trench on the right, at the far end of which is seen the granite foundation-stone. To the left of this trench rise the foundations of the earlier apse: the topmost stone, against which another leans, is all that remains of this apse. Further to the left is the shell of the oblong block of brickwork which served as foundation to the later apse. Of this apse two stones remain in place.

Still further to the west are two of the alabaster blocks which formed the base of the altar screen. In the foreground on the right is a small stair of red brick, symmetrically placed to another which appears in the photograph below.

*Below.* — The same area viewed from the opposite direction. The trench which marks the former east wall is now in the middle of the picture, low down. The granite foundation stone, over which a man is visible, is at the south-east corner. The solid stone foundations of the earlier

apse are now on the left and the very inferior brick foundations of the later one on the right. Above the three alabaster blocks is seen the basalt base of a statue : it bears the name of Khaemuas.

Just below it is a part of the plaster bedding for the floor of the haikal, once covered with marble. A little further to the right and at a higher level is another bit of flooring which may have belonged to a very small chapel.

In the foreground on the lowest level are several of the peculiar blocks found there which must have come from a semidome. They are slightly curved, of varying sizes, deeply channelled along the edge, smooth on the inner, concave face but rough on the face hidden from view.

PLATE V. — A view of the church, looking south-east from above the narthex which was not then cleared. In the background are the trees of Saqqara village and a hill remarkable as containing no known antiquities. The cemetery of the monastery lies in the low ground below this to the north. The standing columns are those of the mandara : against one of them leans a heavy plank of timber, far the largest piece of wood found in or near the church. The solitary square pier has built into it the inscription of plate XLVI, 1, and below this a triangular niche flanked by two incised crosses : it has been blackened by smoke, partly, it seems, by a lamp and partly by a fire lighted at the base of the pier. The piece of the south wall of the church contains two pilasters. They are 2 m. 89 cent. from centre to centre. In the floor of the church the large hole in the central line is the suggested site of the Epiphany tank.

All the capitals and other important stones have been left approximately below the positions in which they were found. The large Corinthian capital in the mandara is an exception; it was found inside the church and rolled down a sand slope out of harm's way to the south. A large part of the stones on the floor are fragments of the continuous moulding which must have run over the arches.

PLATE VI. — The chamber with an apsidal niche and two windows with sloping sills is marked 728 on the plan (pl. I). It is shown again on plate XIV, 3. The north wall bore paintings. To the right and further back is the entrance of the long room (729) which we have called provisionally the hospital. On the stone pier may be seen the inscription of « Abraham of the hospital » which forms the sole ground for this rather hazardous attribution.

The dark space below it was occupied by a thick wooden plank. The mould of a slighter piece of wood is to be seen on the top of the pier. The handsome gatepost with its chevron pattern above and the imbricated design below is of a kind found later to be very typical of the site. By its side stands a piece of a column, hollowed out at the top as if used as a support for a basin. It was in front of this gateway that the series of stones of plate XXXI were disclosed.

Along the east wall of the large room we may notice the buttress, the blocked doorway and the cupboards, all of them features continually recurring throughout the building. The blocked door in the north wall appears again in plate XIV, 1, but viewed from the other side.

PLATE VII. — At the north end of the southern of the two groups of buildings (pl. I, 1704,

1706) are two chambers, separated by a screen formed of columns and piers. This screen is here shown as it appeared when half dug out : the view is taken from the west. The combination of good ornament with unsound design is remarkable; it will be noticed that the blocks of stone above the pillar on the right are supported by a wooden plank. The structure cannot belong to the first foundation; the decorated pilaster built into the pier on the right is not in its original position; though the floor in use at the time the screen was built had mostly disappeared, traces of it remained, and another floor exists 50 cent. below, on which rest the foundations of the piers — singularly inadequate masses of unburnt brick. The spaces between piers and columns were filled no doubt by woodwork, but this had been later on removed and a blocking wall of crude brick substituted.

PLATE VIII. — Photograph of the picture given in colour in the frontispiece. It is a painting in a rounded niche from the east wall of a cell near to the church on the north (pl. I, 709). The title of altar given on the plate is, no doubt, a mistake. Oratory or icon would be better. The arch was ca. 1 metre high.

The wall on which this painting was executed is very poorly built and is certainly later than the other walls of the cell. It is curious that none of the other cells in this group have any decoration on the walls, while all four sides of this tiny room were elaborately painted.

PLATE IX. — The figures of Faith, Hope and Charity from the south wall of the same cell. The names, spelt ΠΙΣΤΙΣ, ΕΛΠΙΣ and ΤΑΓΑΡΕ are written above the figures. The colours are as follows : ΠΙΣΤΙΣ, chiton yellow with folds marked in red, shawl white with folds of gray; ΕΛΠΙΣ, chiton white with grey folds, shawl white with red folds; ΤΑΓΑΡΕ, chiton white, shawl yellow with red folds. The discs held in their hands are grey, outlined in black with inner rim and cross of white; the central boss is black with white spots. The coil pattern below the figures consists of two intertwined strands — one with outer scalloped border of red and inner one of pink with white between and a black edge where they cross — the other grey and dull green respectively with white between. The background is black; the spots are white. This is a favourite pattern, both at this site and at Bawît.

PLATE X. — 1. The south-west corner of the same cell (709). The three new virtues have lost their names; further to the right were three more, Patience, Prudence and Fortitude.

2. The southern half of the east wall of the same cell (709). Above the interlacing border are two jewelled crosses on stands, hung, as it seems, with ribbons. Between them and to one side are plants. Below the border were two peacocks facing each other.

3. The figure of Patience [ΠΑΡΕΜΟΧΗ] from the east wall of the same cell. The chiton is yellow with red folds, the shawl white with lines of grey.

4. Figure of Christ from a niche in a room (733) in the north group. The table had been broken off, the picture bricked up and the praying niche converted into a cupboard.

The Christ wears an inner robe of yellow, an outer one of purple. On each side was an angel with hands raised. The stars(?) were black with white spots; the oval background was of slaty blue; outside this was a line of black with white spots, then a light line, then red with similar groups of stars of white on dark red. The painting was small (ca 0 m. 40 cent.) and in very bad condition from salt, and we did not succeed in moving it.

5. Painted plaster decoration from a long magazine (1714), not at this time completely dug out. The scale is smaller than in the rest of the plate.

PLATE XI. — 1. The lower part of the limestone pillar in the middle of the west end of the church. The decoration is given again in line in figure 1 (p. 3). The painting is directly upon the stone.

2. Upper part of another pillar at the same end of the church.

3. Close to the door of the chamber «where Jeremias used to sit» was a small room (706) which served for the guards, and on the wall of this these watchmen had found leisure to daub in red paint figures intended for their portraits. Over each one is a name such as «Father Hor, the watchman»; above the heads is a drawing of a ship.

4. A medallion and part of a second representing an archangel and the Virgin Mary, from the west side of the wall between 722 and 727. The painting was interesting as being better and earlier in style than most of those we found, but it fell before a coloured copy could be made. Below it was the list of patriarchs (inscription n° 115).

PLATE XII. — Paintings on plaster from the south wall of the founder's room (773); the two pictures fit together, the top one to the right of that below. The decoration of the central panel is new to us. In the centre between the pillars is a well-head and, rising from it, an object looking like a long glass bottle with a series of bulbs blown at intervals. It is yellow in colour. This cannot be a plant, and looks more like a trophy or labarum. On each side of it, though, there is a plant form, then come the two pillars with a curtain hanging between them, then the elaborate geometric pattern flanked by very conventionalised vines growing out of vases. On the left, finally, is the pattern of lozenges with single leaves in the centre, a better example of which has already been seen in *Saqqara*, II, pl. LVIII.

PLATE XIII. — 1. The east wall of the same room (773). The plaster has been repaired in antiquity in the roughest manner. Between the two panels of geometric ornament is an epitaph (n° 1), reused as a support for a metal cross; the bronze nails remain. Below is a section of a column, once a support for a table or bowl.

2. The west side of the room (773). In the background the paintings of the last plate : on the right are two buttresses designed to support the west wall, which was, indeed, leaning at an alarming angle when we uncovered it. Into the buttress are built a whole series of capitals and pilaster capitals taken from already ruined parts of the building.

The column made of two stones, at the end of the buttress, bears an incised inscription, a prayer for the soul of a brother who was a baker (?) :

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΠΑΚΑΘΟΣ  
ΡΙΟΥΝΑΜΝ  
ΤΕΨΗΧΥΠΑ  
5 CONΓΕΩΡΓΕ  
ΠΙΩΤΠΜΑΝΤΩΧ  
ΠΑCΟΝΝΑΖΡΟΟΥ

3. The rooms west of the church (pl. I, 793, 794, 789, 787, 788) taken from the south. The thick wall on the right is in most parts double, consisting of the original walls and a buttress, made up in part of fragments of stone from earlier buildings. It is from this wall that several good reliefs were obtained. Leaning against the wall near the little stair is the block with inscription in very high relief, shown again in plate XLV, 1.

4. Two long rooms (1701, 1702) seen from the west. The small square openings in the wall, framed in stone, were used for tying cattle; a bar of wood fitting in holes in the side blocks remains in place, and on the floor is a layer of manure. This use of the room as a cowbyre was not, probably, the original one. The floor is 3 metres above that of the room beyond (1704) to the east; only in the later times of danger would the cattle be brought so far into the interior of the monastery.

PLATE XIV. — 1. The north door of the hospital(?) (pl. I, 726) from the outside. The door-jamb on the right with the shell was meant to be laid horizontally and its base to be placed standing up : there must once have been a jamb corresponding to the one on the left : indeed, when afterwards the blocking was removed, part of this stone was found in it.

The object inside the shell may have been a human figure : on each side of it is a sea monster.

2. South doorway of the same room, seen already in plate VI.

3. East side of room 728 showing the square opening with sloping sill in the middle of the niche (cf. pl. VI). On both sides of the opening is a painting of a dove : the aperture goes directly through the wall; it cannot be a cupboard of which the back wall has been destroyed, and the object of the construction is not clear. The capitals of the two pillars have holes pierced through the upper corners as if for hanging a curtain.

4. Remains of a holy-water stoup (?) in the corridor north of the church. A section from a granite pillar of Rameses II served as the base; the top of it was hollowed out so as to fit a basin like that in plate XLII, 1. The base is of brickwork and at each corner was a little column : the basin was therefore roofed in.

PLATE XV. — 1. Two ovens for baking the eucharistic bread (pl. I, 704). The use of the stone trough was recognised by the workmen; in it was dipped the cloth with which the oven was

cleared of ashes after the fire had blazed out and before the loaves were put in. The roof of the bakery was upheld by a column the capital of which lies on the floor.

2. The bench in room 733 showing the stone vase embedded in masonry.

3. A view of the narthex, the western approach to the church and the buttressed wall which bounded this approach. In this wall the fine relief of plate XXXIV, 1, is seen.

4. We have not, as yet, dug in the cemetery, but the sebakhs diggers work there and this year found a few standing gravestones, two of which are shown here. The inscriptions face east. The bodies close by were in a state of hopeless confusion : the cemetery was dug out some years ago by the villagers.

PLATE XVI. — 1. The finest of the smaller capitals (height 0 m. 33 cent.). It is of soft limestone, the ornament deeply (0 m. 05 cent.) cut with free use of the drill. The horizontal section is 8-lobed. The design is one that will frequently recur, that of the vine springing from a vase : the vases are here very small, the shape of the leaves elongated and the leaflets separated by deep drill-holes. The capital was brightly painted in red and blue. It was found in the passage (710) leading to the cell (709) the walls of which bore the paintings of the virtues.

2. A capital similar in form, design and dimensions (height 0 m. 34 cent.) to the last, but the egg and dart pattern is replaced by a floral motive, the fillet at the base is different, the work is less delicate and the bunches of grapes do not hang downward. This capital was found in room 705.

PLATE XVI A. — These two figures are reduced from pen and ink sketches by Mr. Fitzroy Darke. The upper capital, 0 m. 33 cent. high, from room 710, is seen again in plate XVI, 1 ; the lower, 0 m. 40 cent. high, in plate XXII, 1. The first retains considerable traces of red and blue paint.

PLATE XVII. — One of the finest of the vine-leaf capitals (height 0 m. 58 cent., top 0 m. 75 c. square) found in the south aisle of the church near the east end. In plate III it is shown in position as found, close to an octagonal marble base. On comparing this with the last two capitals and with plate XIX we see that the leaf-like object rising from the fillet at the base probably represents a vase. The capital was marked on the base with the letter B incised.

PLATE XVIII. — Capital built into a block of dry masonry in the middle of the south row of columns. (Height 0 m. 57 cent.) Here the intertwining stems of the vine have almost lost connection with the leaves and have developed into a separate pattern. Rosettes, pomegranates and crosses are inserted in the loops.

PLATE XIX. — Large tub-shaped capital much inferior to the last two (height 0 m. 55 cent.). Inscription on the edge ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑC and ΙΟΥCΤΕ. Found close to the west door of the church.

PLATE XX. — 1. Capital (height 0 m. 50 cent.). From north-west angle of the church.

2. Capital (height o m. 50 cent.), found at the west end. It retains a good deal of colour, each leaf having been painted with one side red and the other yellow.

3. Capital (height o m. 40 cent.) from the south aisle of the church.

4. Capital (height o m. 55 cent.) from the south aisle.

PLATE XXI. — 1. Capital (height o m. 44 cent.) of the 8-lobed type. Two slots have been cut in it after the decoration was finished, so as to insert a wooden screen. This seems a strange method of working but was reasonable enough where stone was soft and easily cut and wood was dear.

2. Capital (height o m. 46 cent.) similar to the last in shape and also in having the two vertical channels cut to fit the woodwork.

3. Capital (height o m. 47 cent., diameter at base o m. 30 cent.). From east end of south aisle. The capital appears to have been engaged in a wall. There is a vertical slot but this time the pattern runs over into it.

4. Part of a capital (height o m. 43 cent.) with no sign of decoration on one side; it was, probably, like the last, engaged.

PLATE XXII. — 1-3 are vineleaf-capitals from rooms in the monastery and are smaller and less carefully executed than those in the church.

1. Capital (height o m. 40 cent.) from room 703; a line-drawing in plate XVI A.

2. Very small capital (height o m. 24 cent.) found inverted and used as a base for a pillar in the wall which divided room 796 into two parts.

3. Capital (height o m. 40 cent. square above) from the bakery (704); found under the ashes in the south-west corner.

4. Capital of the acanthus and palm type (height o m. 47 cent.) found near the west door of the church.

5. Similar capital (height o m. 53 cent. top o m. 71 cent. square, diameter of base o m. 45 cent.). The palm-fronds are painted with roughly drawn strokes of red and green; each frond has a green and a red half but the colours change sides from leaf to leaf, so that two green half-leaves come together, then two red ones. This arrangement was not a mere mistake as it occurs again in the next capital.

6. Capital (height o m. 55 cent.) like the last; very brightly coloured.

PLATE XXIII. — Four capitals from the north side of the church. All in this row were of one type and very similar to one another, though no pair matched exactly.

1. Height o m. 40 cent., diameter at base o m. 37 cent.

2. Height o m. 44 cent., diameter at base o m. 34 cent.

3. Height 0 m. 38 cent., diameter at base 0 m. 34 cent.

4. Height 0 m. 49 cent., diameter at base 0 m. 36 cent.

PLATE XXIV. — Six samples of the oblong-topped capital with vertical grooves for insertion of a screen. These grooves appear generally to have been cut after the decoration was finished.

1. Capital found in a hole below the south-east corner of the church.

2. Capital from a buttress in the abbot's room (773).

3. Capital from room 1706, from the east to west row of pillars which were, therefore, probably joined by a screen of lattice work.

4. Another from the same room. Letter  $\lambda$  is incised above.

5. Height 0 m. 34 cent.

6. Is brightly painted on one half only.

PLATE XXV. — Large capital of the type with 8 projecting lobés (height 0 m. 46 cent.). It has already appeared in plate XXI, 2.

PLATE XXVI. — The finest of three large Corinthian capitals found in the church (height 0 m. 63 cent.). It retains considerable traces of colour.

PLATE XXVII. — A set of capitals of the simpler and less decorative types, but including one (n° 4) like that of plate XXVI; n° 3 may be unfinished.

1. This is much of the type of the north row of capitals (pl. XXIII) but taller (height 0 m. 46 cent.). From room 1706.

2. (Height 0 m. 63 cent., diameter at base 0 m. 37 cent.) From north-west quarter of the church, near the north door. The curled ends of the leaves have been made into rude animal faces.

3. (Height 0 m. 34 cent., diameter at base 0 m. 29 cent.) From near the north wall.

4. Large Corinthian capital (height 0 m. 60 cent.) from the east end of the church, close to the alabaster bench. It retains traces of colour.

5 and 6. Two capitals from near the stair at the south-east of the church (height 0 m. 30 cent. and 0 m. 32 cent.).

PLATE XXVIII. — A series of engaged capitals.

1. (Height 0 m. 37 cent., top 0 m. 42 cent. by 0 m. 47 cent.) Was found in the yard marked 729 on the map, came probably therefore from the south gate of the hospital(?). Two animals represented between the leaves, high on the left, have been chiselled out in antiquity.

2. A similar engaged capital found built into the buttressed wall (792) (height 0 m. 39 cent., top 0 m. 40 cent. by 0 m. 46 cent.).

3. A smaller capital with leaves in low relief, found in the same wall further south (797) (height 0 m. 22 cent.).

4. From the yard (729) south of the hospital (height 0 m. 32 cent.).

5. From the hospital (?) 726 (height 0 m. 22 cent.).

PLATE XXIX. — 1. Another of the capitals with eight lobes. Found in the long room (1706) at the end of which was the screen of plate VII. It was the only one of its type (height 0 m. 45 cent.).

2. Capital from the long barrel-vaulted magazine (1714) not completely dug (height 0 m. 43 cent.).

3. Capital from the east end of the church, near to the alabaster bench (height 0 m. 41 cent.).

4. Stand to hold a marble basin (height 0 m. 80 cent.) found in north-east quarter of the church.

5. A marble base (height 0 m. 70 cent.) from south-east part of the church. It is seen in position in plate III. It is octagonal in section, the surface is left rough with edges only dressed but the moulding is sharp and good. It may be that blocks were sometimes imported half-finished, to be polished in Egypt.

6. Another stand for a basin, from the hall (705) to the north of the church. It bears traces of colour (height 0 m. 63 cent.).

PLATE XXX. — The two door-posts from the south door of the hall 705 (height 1 m. 85 cent.). Both had been broken in antiquity through driving in iron nails. A closely-similar design in plate XIV, 1.

This door was an elaborate and important one : it must have formed the main entrance to the monastery from the church. In the door jambs carved wooden beams were inserted; two reliefs from an Old Kingdom mastaba, depicting fishes, were also placed, one on each side of the door, and for the threshold the great quartzite stela of Nectanebo was employed.

PLATE XXXI. — A collection of limestone blocks found close together near the south door of the hospital (726) and doubtless forming part of that doorway.

1. Lintel (length 2 m. 08 cent.). The animals on each side of the cups in the two end-panels have been chiselled out. The asymmetry of the key-patterns in the middle is curious.

2 and 3. Two blocks, each 1 m. 50 cent. long; they look as if they should be placed horizontally.

4. These pieces and the two below are on a larger scale than the rest. They are flat blocks about 0 m. 35 cent. high (a unit of the ornament is 0 m. 20 cent. long). One would suppose

that these would stand upright but a fragment of a stela found the next year showed that the pattern might also run horizontally.

5. Two blocks, one 0 m. 34 cent., the other 0 m. 36 cent. high, showing shrines in which were seated figures of Our Lord; these have been carefully chiselled out.

6. Block, 1 m. 60 cent. long, with eight arches, seven of which contained a standing figure of an Apostle and the last that of the Saviour, as the names left above inform us.

PLATE XXXII. — 1. A large false pilaster capital (height 0 m. 52 cent.), from the hospital (726). Only the capital is shown: the stone extended about 0 m. 15 cent. on each side.

2. Pilaster capitals from doorways, found reused in a wall (789). The lowest piece is 0 m. 90 cent. wide.

3. Pilaster capital, doubtless from the inside edge of a door (length 0 m. 95 cent.). From south-east end of church. Shown near original position in plate IV, 1, on the left.

PLATE XXXIII. — A group of stones from the screen between rooms 1704 and 1706 (pl. VII).

1. Capital from south pillar with slot for insertion of wooden screen (height 0 m. 42 cent.).

2. Two double capitals from the sides of the piers (length of base of upper one 0 m. 84 cent.).

3. Block from east face of centre of entablature (not visible in plate VII) (length 1 metre, height 0 m. 38 cent.).

4. Doorjamb (1 m. 20 cent. high) reused in south pier of screen on west side (pl. VII, right), presumably of earlier work than the rest.

5. Pilaster capitals. The lowest is 0 m. 86 cent. long.

PLATE XXXIV. — 1. A fine block, 1 m. 28 cent. long, found inverted, built into the face of the buttressed wall west of the church. Visible also in plate XV, 3.

2. Another block (1 m. 58 cent. long) built into the same wall. The central circular space, from which the original interlacing ornament had been broken out, was filled with plaster. The pattern may be restored from plate XXXI, 1.

3 and 4. Two more pieces from the same wall (0 m. 60 cent. and 0 m. 80 cent. long).

PLATE XXXV. — 1 and 2. Two blocks (0 m. 52 cent. and 0 m. 56 cent. high), found in a small brick chamber (785), but doubtless originally derived from the church.

3. Fragment of frieze (0 m. 55 cent. long), from north-east quarter of the church.

4. Fragment (0 m. 37 cent. high), from a chamber on the north-west (1702).

5. Piece of cornice 0 m. 66 cent. long from the important room (705) with two still standing columns.

6. Fragment of cornice (0 m. 63 cent. long), from south side of church.

7. Another from wall west of church (length 0 m. 86 cent.).

PLATE XXXVI. — 1. Three fragments of a cornice of which many other pieces were found. These from were the west end of the church.

2 and 3. Flat slabs, 0 m. 66 cent. and 0 m. 82 cent. in length, with wreath carved on the edge. Both were reused in the wall west of the church.

4. A fragment (0 m. 51 cent. long), found at the east end behind the altar. No other piece quite in this style was found.

5. Curved block (0 m. 85 cent. long), from an arch. Found in the long room (1701) which was reused as a cowbyre (pl. XIII, 4).

6. Another curved block which must have come from the base of an arch. It shows the favourite pattern of the vine springing from a vase.

7. Fragment of cornice 0 m. 70 cent. long.

8. Two similar pieces.

PLATE XXXVII. — 1. Shell-shaped stone from the niche in chamber 728, visible also in plate VI (breadth 0 m. 85 cent.).

2. Fine conch removed at least a generation ago from the monastery and now used as a lintel in the tomb of Sidi Khodêr south of Abusir village.

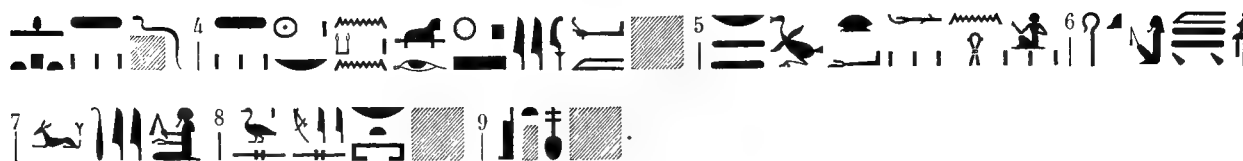
3. Fragment of another of these curved stones from a niche. The border is brightly coloured. Inscription n° 7, p. 29.

4. Fragment of yet another (0 m. 50 cent. long) from the east end of the mandara. Inscription n° 8, p. 29 :

ΕΜΤΟΝΜΟΧΝΟΥΚΘΝΕΜΦΕΙΡΧΜΓ  
ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕΠΑΤΕΩΝΗΛΑΜΤΟΝΜ

PLATE XXXVIII. — 1 and 2. The two sides of a stone used first in the XIX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty for a stela, then by the Copts as a cross with two steps in front. Cf. the cross leaning against the column in plate III. The stone was found, apparently in its original position, close to the south door of the hall (705) which communicated between the church and the monastery.

The inscription reads : <sup>1</sup>  <sup>2</sup>  <sup>3</sup>   
 <sup>4</sup>  <sup>5</sup>  <sup>6</sup>  and, in the  
lower scene :  <sup>2</sup>  <sup>3</sup> 



3. A stand for water-jars found inside the church, on the north side of the west door (length 1 m. 06 cent., height 0 m. 30 cent.). The two circular basins drain into the central cavity which is deeper (0 m. 14 cent.). On the left are two holes for cups. On this side is an inscription  $\Sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\nu$ . The head in the centre, generally taken to be a lion in this class of objects, must be rather a seamonster.

4. A block (0 m. 98 cent. wide) originally a lintel, reused as a stand for jars.

5. Two crosses, that on the left 0 m. 25 cent. square. This was in room 712; the other was near the surface and had been moved from its original position.

PLATE XXXIX. — Line drawings of the designs on some pieces of wood found in the church. Nos 1-5 are in colour, painted on thin boards; nos 6 and 7 are carved pieces from wooden screens. The scale is about 1 : 5. The preservation is poor; the paint is dull and flakes off readily. Some of the colours are noted below.

1. Thick lines are green, leaves pink. On the right the stars(?) are white on a red ground; the leaves are green.

2. Foliage is white (probably a decayed green), the ground red, the birds dark-green and white.

3. Background red, main lines black, back of the bird green. The thin painted boards (1-5) may have covered the beams that tied the columns together, or the timbers of the roof.

PLATE XL. — 1. Two consoles of palm wood, the larger one 0 m. 84 cent. long, found in the church, the smaller in room 1704 where it had been reused to roof a cupboard. Both had been gaily painted. The sharpness of cutting in so fibrous a material is remarkable.

2. Part of the door of a cupboard, 0 m. 27 cent. high, found outside the church at the north-west corner.

3. Fragments of carved wood, some of them painted. The uppermost piece which is brightly coloured, is from the north-east of the church. The others, with the exception of the chair-leg which was found by the sebakhin, also come from the east of the church and are, doubtless, fragments of the haikal screen. The lowest piece is 0 m. 28 cent. long.

4. Door and frame of a cupboard in a wall at the south of the altar at the lowest level. The body of the cupboard was an earthenware vase. The device on the two doors is the same.

5. A group of small wooden figures of animals — a bull and three cats (bull is 0 m. 10 cent. long). These, if they belonged to the monks are curious relics of the older religion; they may however be children's toys.

PLATE XLI. — 1. Two uprights from a wooden chest(?) with delicate ivory inlay (length 0 m. 52 cent.).

2. Small objects of bronze : the main group, surrounded by the chain, were found at the east end of the church, at the lowest level, and north of the apse. Most of them are parts of a lamp.

The stud and nails on the left and the spoon on the right were found separately.

PLATE XLII. — 1. Marble basin, 0 m. 64 cent. in diameter, found broken in three pieces but complete. The largest fragment alone has been photographed in order to show the thickness of the side and the shape of the socket, which must have fitted into a stand and formed a holy water stoup (cf. pl. XIV, 4).

2. A group of lamps; two in the upper row are of stone, the rest of earthenware. Lamps are not numerous on the site.

3. A small ostrakon, probably in the Blemmye language (Griffith). So far as it can be read the text is:

//2Α·ΟΥΩΧΑΡΑ· · · ΑΛΑΡΑ  
 //· ΑΛΙ2Α· ΙΟΥΜΙΘ  
 //ΘΑΡΜΜΑΝ2ΑΛΧΠΑ  
 //2Α· ΙΟΥΜΕΙCΤΟΓΥΡ·  
 5 //ΙΗΛ2Ο9Μ· Ε· ΜΠ  
 //2ΑΡΑΟΥΩΜΗΝ  
 //ΜΑΡΑ

4. Fragment (0 m. 11 cent. long) of a shallow marble dish or plaque found by the sebakhin to the south of the monastery while our work was going on. It represents Jonah being swallowed by the whale.

5. Small objects of bone.

PLATE XLIII. — 1. A selection from a group of blocks of a special shape found at the east end of the church, north of the earlier apse and at a low level. Their smooth face is slightly concave, one end is a little shorter than the other and the edges are deeply channelled. They vary from 0 m. 12 cent. to 0 m. 30 cent. in length and were evidently built into a semidome.

2. Two consoles and a small capital, also from the haikal. The capital is 0 m. 58 cent. wide. Consoles were curiously rare, perhaps because they could easily be dressed down square and so were all carried away and reused by the Arabs.

3. Red bricks with deep semicircular grooves on the face, found in the hospital (726). Such bricks would only be useful for roofs and we may conclude that this room was covered either by a double barrel-vault or by two rows of domes.

4. A support from a bench in room 705.

5. Parts of stone trough (the smaller piece 0 m. 65 cent. long) found in the corridor north of the church. The round spoon-like end was the inlet into which the skins or jars were emptied.

PLATE XLIV. — 1. Two slabs from the floor of the mandara south of the church, photographed in position. (Larger stone 1 m. 60 cent. by 0 m. 52 cent.) Text and translation are given as nos 10, 11, p. 30, 31.

2. Third epitaph from the same floor, n° 12, p. 32.

3. Inscription, 0 m. 30 cent. high, referring to the restoration of the church, n° 13, p. 32.

4. Slab in the floor of room 773, near the blocked north door : its position is marked on the map in plate I : « This is where Apa Jeremias sat ». N° 14, p. 33.

PLATE XLV. — 1. Three pieces of a long flat slab with an inscription in very high relief along the edge. Two of them were found in room 789, one was built into the buttressed wall west of the church. The dimensions of the largest piece are : length 1 m. 55 cent., height 0 m. 11 cent., depth 0 m. 25 cent. Inscription n° 15, p. 33.

2. Inscription on a block found loose near the line of the north wall of the church and, most probably, derived from the wall. It states that « this is the place where the fullers sit ». Are we to suppose that each trade had its special place in church or that the fullers alone, from the dirty nature of their work, were kept apart from their fellow-worshippers? Copy n° 16, p. 33.

3. Two flat slabs, the larger 0 m. 49 cent. by 0 m. 36 cent. The inscription runs along three edges; in the smaller slab it is written from right to left. These stones must have served as a kind of abacus or impost to a column. Copies nos 17, 18, p. 33, 34.

4. Three more slabs, two of them similar to the last pair. The upper one (0 m. 32 cent. by 0 m. 25 cent.) fell from the central opening of the great screen between rooms 1704 and 1706. It had been reused at least once : of the two inscriptions that in high relief is the earlier. The middle block comes from the often mentioned thick wall west of the church. The lowest stone, 0 m. 45 cent. long, is inscribed on one edge only and seems not to have come from a pillar. Inscriptions nos 19, 20, p. 34.

5. Three fragments of epitaphs, all from the church, having been used there, probably, as paving stones. Inscriptions nos 21-23.

6. Above, a stone, 0 m. 40 cent. long, part of a lintel; below, another fragment of a lintel, found built into a late wall in the mandara. Inscriptions nos 24, 25.

PLATE XLVI. — 1. Block, 1 m. 20 cent. by 0 m. 30 cent. from north face of the pier in the mandara south of the church. It is seen in position in plate VI. Inscription n° 26.

2. Long epitaph on block 0 m. 45 cent. wide, found by the sebakhin in the cemetery south of the site. Singularly the name of Jeremias is not in the long list of saints invoked and the inscription is not finished. Inscription n° 27.

3. Another inscription from the cemetery (height 1 m. 50 cent., breadth 0 m. 50 cent.). Copy n° 28, p. 37.

4. Graffito in red paint on a block originally 0 m. 73 cent. by 0 m. 42 cent. found in fragments at the west end of the church. Copy n° 89, p. 53.

PLATE XLVII. — 1. Inscription from the floor of the mandara just above the steps (length 0 m. 50 cent.). Copy n° 29, p. 37.

2-5. Epitaphs from the cemetery, found by sebakhin : the last two are reused New Empire blocks. Copies n°s 30-33, p. 38, 39.

PLATE XLVIII. — More Coptic inscriptions. Copies n°s 34-41, p. 39-41.

1. 0 m. 29 cent. by 0 m. 28 cent.

2. 0 m. 30 cent. by 0 m. 20 cent. From sebakh.

3. 0 m. 67 cent. by 0 m. 38 cent.

4. About 0 m. 35 cent. wide.

5. About 0 m. 35 cent. wide.

6. From the pavement before the altar.

7. Used face downwards in the pavement at the entrance of room 703.

8. Inscription from room 744. Fayumic dialect.

PLATE XLIX. — 1. Unfinished epitaph (0 m. 45 cent. by 0 m. 35 cent.) from south of bake-house (710). Jeremias and Enoch appear between the Trinity and the Archangels. Copy n° 42, p. 41.

2. Unfinished inscription from pavement before the altar in the church. Copy n° 43, p. 42.

3. Inscription from sebakh. N° 44, p. 42.

4. Inscription from room 787. N° 45, p. 42.

5. Two fragments, the larger 0 m. 56 cent. wide. N° 46, p. 42.

PLATE L. — 1. Inscription from the west wall of room 1704, high up and close to the door into 1701. Written in a cursive and rather illegible hand and apparently one of the latest of the graffiti. Copy n° 90, p. 54.

2. From room 727, as yet but partially excavated, from the east wall. The inscription is older than the running pattern in red paint which obscures it. The text is in black, the rope border black, white and yellow : it gives or gave the anniversaries of the birth, consecration and death of the two founders. Copy n° 91, p. 54.

3. From room 728 below the window south of the niche, visible also in plate VII. Copy n° 92.

4. Arabic inscription scored on the right side of the large stairway (pl. III), not in ancient Kufic but in a script of about 1000 A. D. as Prof. Moritz and Marcos Bey Simaika both inform me.

PLATE LI. — 1. Part of a small marble plaque, 0 m. 23 cent. high, with a Greek inscription.

2. Part of a marble altar-top (?) with inscription in Greek hexameters (breadth 0 m. 72 cent.).

3. Slab from an Old Kingdom mastaba used as a paving-stone in the mandara south of the church. It depicts a fishing scene.

4. Paving stone from the corridor north of the church, near the south door of 1705, from a XIX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tomb. The inscribed side was underneath.

PLATE LII. — Large quartzite stela of Nekhthorheb, 1 m. 63 cent. high, employed as threshold in the south door of room 705. The inscription was uppermost and has suffered much from the monks' sandy feet. The heads of the king and the bull have been wilfully destroyed. In the square hole the door was pivoted. Copy and translation p. 89.

PLATE LIII. — A view, taken from the summit of the pyramid of Teta, of the excavations in the temple. On the right is the small pyramid described in the last report. Three of the XIX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty shafts have been left, standing now as towers above the Old Kingdom pavement. A great deal of this pavement has been ripped out; on the right it is better preserved and the lowest course of two walls also remains. One large block from the roof is to be seen. On the left side there is a drainage-channel running below the pavement.

Beyond is the yet unexcavated part of the temple site covered with some metres of lime-stone-chip.

PLATE LIV. — The main pieces of relief from the temple walls. In one piece is a bronze inlaid eye still in position.

1. The spirits of Pe; the only large block.

2. 0 m. 55 cent. by 0 m. 48 cent.

3. 1 m. 04 cent. long. From a Sed-heb scene.

4. 0 m. 52 cent. by 0 m. 25 cent.

Figure of a princess (?), not known hitherto.

5. 0 m. 55 cent. by 0 m. 30 cent.

Reads .

6. 0 m. 55 cent. long.

7. 1 metre by 0 m. 30 cent.

Text on left : .

PLATE LV. — A death-mask of rough plaster found in the temple at the north-west corner, at some height (ca. 0 m. 70 cent.) above the floor.

The photograph of the mask itself ( 1 ) is not a success as it gives an effect of relief to those parts of the face which are sunk deepest. From the mould a cast was made at the Museum by Herr Fanghaenel, and of this Brugsch Pasha took two views. These ( 2, 3 ) are on slightly different scales and much larger than ( 1 ).

The face is a remarkable one : it is easy to believe that this person was of importance in his day. Now, of whom could a death-mask be needed in the temple of Teta save of Teta himself or, possibly, his queen? It may well be that statues of the king were made close by, as those of Usertesen I<sup>st</sup> at Lisht are said to have been, and that this mask, after serving its purpose as a model to the sculptors, was buried in the sand which would collect outside the temple wall, and has been preserved through all the quarrying that the site has since undergone.

It is easier to suppose that this is the very death-mask of Teta than that the mask of another great personage should have been left here with no other proof or suggestion of a monument in his honour having existed. There is, we may at least say, a presumption, though by no means a sure proof, that we have here a mould taken from the face of Teta immediately after his death.

PLATE LVI. — Two views of a head of a limestone statue of the Old Empire, found in the temple of the pyramid of Teta (height 0 m. 21 cent.).

PLATE LVII. — 1, 2 and 3. A squatting statue of limestone from the pyramid temple (height 0 m. 70 cent.). Three views are given, as the text is of some interest from the large number of pyramid temples in which Teta-em-saf held office.

Vertical column in front : ( $\rightarrow$ )

On the left side of the statue are six lines :

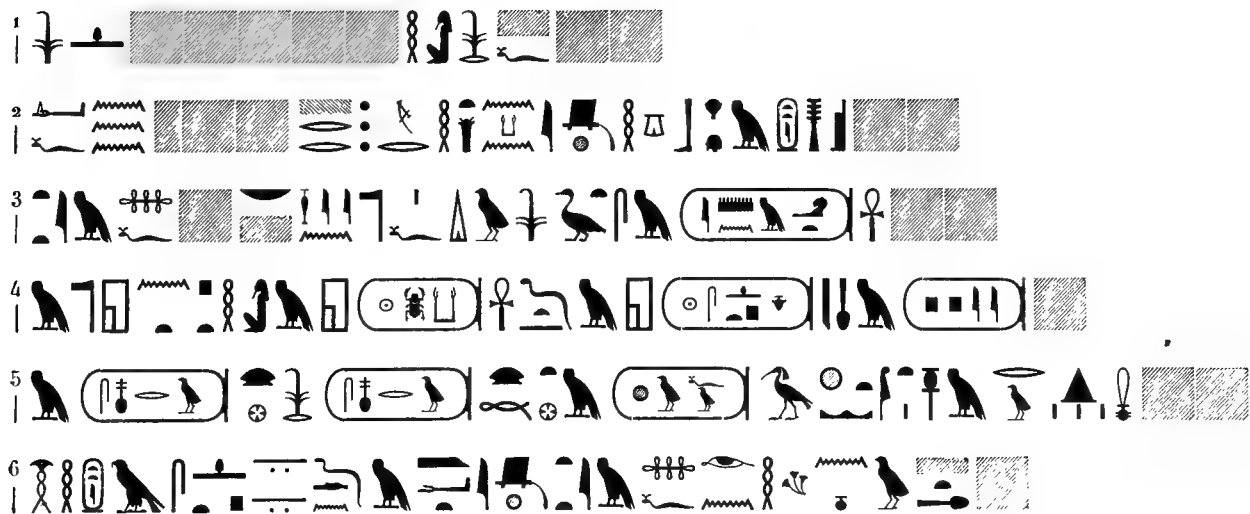




PLATE LX. — Head of a lifesize wooden statue from the serdab of Rashepses. The hair is painted black, the face red : the eyes are executed with great care and the small veins in the eyeball indicated. There is over the wood a thin layer of plaster on which the colour was laid with a size medium. The wood has shrunk with time and the plaster has in places blistered up and is readily broken away.

Top line : (→) 𐀀 𐀁 𐀂 𐀃 𐀄 𐀅 𐀆 𐀇 𐀈 𐀉 𐀊 𐀋 𐀌 𐀍 𐀎 𐀏 𐀐 𐀑 𐀒 𐀓 𐀔 𐀕 𐀖 𐀗 𐀘 𐀙 𐀚 𐀛 𐀜 𐀝 𐀞 𐀟 𐀠 𐀡 𐀢 𐀣 𐀤 𐀥 𐀦 𐀧 𐀨 𐀩 𐀪 𐀫 𐀬 𐀭 𐀮 𐀯 𐀰 𐀱 𐀲 𐀳 𐀴 𐀵 𐀶 𐀷 𐀸 𐀹 𐀺 𐀻 𐀼 𐀽 𐀾 𐀿 𐁀 𐁁 𐁂 𐁃 𐁄 𐁅 𐁆 𐁇 𐁈 𐁉 𐁊 𐁋 𐁌 𐁍 𐁎 𐁏 𐁐 𐁑 𐁒 𐁓 𐁔 𐁕 𐁖 𐁗 𐁘 𐁙 𐁚 𐁛 𐁜 𐁝 𐁞 𐁟 𐁠 𐁡 𐁢 𐁣 𐁤 𐁥 𐁦 𐁧 𐁨 𐁩 𐁪 𐁫 𐁬 𐁭 𐁮 𐁯 𐁰 𐁱 𐁲 𐁳 𐁴 𐁵 𐁶 𐁷 𐁸 𐁹 𐁺 𐁻 𐁼 𐁽 𐁾 𐁿 𐂀 𐂁 𐂂 𐂃 𐂄 𐂅 𐂆 𐂇 𐂈 𐂉 𐂊 𐂋 𐂌 𐂍 𐂎 𐂏 𐂐 𐂑 𐂒 𐂓 𐂔 𐂕 𐂖 𐂗 𐂘 𐂙 𐂚 𐂛 𐂜 𐂝 𐂞 𐂟 𐂠 𐂡 𐂢 𐂣 𐂤 𐂥 𐂦 𐂧 𐂨 𐂩 𐂪 𐂫 𐂬 𐂭 𐂮 𐂯 𐂰 𐂱 𐂲 𐂳 𐂴 𐂵 𐂶 𐂷 𐂸 𐂹 𐂺 𐂻 𐂼 𐂽 𐂾 𐂿 𐃀 𐃁 𐃂 𐃃 𐃄 𐃅 𐃆 𐃇 𐃈 𐃉 𐃊 𐃋 𐃌 𐃍 𐃎 𐃏 𐃐 𐃑 𐃒 𐃓 𐃔 𐃕 𐃖 𐃗 𐃘 𐃙 𐃚 𐃛 𐃜 𐃝 𐃞 𐃟 𐃠 𐃡 𐃢 𐃣 𐃤 𐃥 𐃦 𐃧 𐃨 𐃩 𐃪 𐃫 𐃬 𐃭 𐃮 𐃯 𐃰 𐃱 𐃲 𐃳 𐃴 𐃵 𐃶 𐃷 𐃸 𐃹 𐃺 𐃻 𐃼 𐃽 𐃾 𐃿 𐄀 𐄁 𐄂 𐄃 𐄄 𐄅 𐄆 𐄇 𐄈 𐄉 𐄊 𐄋 𐄌 𐄍 𐄎 𐄏 𐄐 𐄑 𐄒 𐄓 𐄔 𐄕 𐄖 𐄗 𐄘 𐄙 𐄚 𐄛 𐄜 𐄝 𐄞 𐄟 𐄠 𐄡 𐄢 𐄣 𐄤 𐄥 𐄦 𐄧 𐄨 𐄩 𐄪 𐄫 𐄬 𐄭 𐄮 𐄯 𐄰 𐄱 𐄲 𐄳 𐄴 𐄵 𐄶 𐄷 𐄸 𐄹 𐄺 𐄻 𐄼 𐄽 𐄾 𐄿 𐅀 𐅁 𐅂 𐅃 𐅄 𐅅 𐅆 𐅇 𐅈 𐅉 𐅊 𐅋 𐅌 𐅍 𐅎 𐅏 𐅐 𐅑 𐅒 𐅓 𐅔 𐅕 𐅖 𐅗 𐅘 𐅙 𐅚 𐅛 𐅜 𐅝 𐅞 𐅟 𐅠 𐅡 𐅢 𐅣 𐅤 𐅥 𐅦 𐅧 𐅨 𐅩 𐅪 𐅫 𐅬 𐅭 𐅮 𐅯 𐅰 𐅱 𐅲 𐅳 𐅴 𐅵 𐅶 𐅷 𐅸 𐅹 𐅺 𐅻 𐅼 𐅽 𐅾 𐅿 𐆀 𐆁 𐆂 𐆃 𐆄 𐆅 𐆆 𐆇 𐆈 𐆉 𐆊 𐆋 𐆌 𐆍 𐆎 𐆏 𐆐 𐆑 𐆒 𐆓 𐆔 𐆕 𐆖 𐆗 𐆘 𐆙 𐆚 𐆛 𐆜 𐆝 𐆞 𐆟 𐆠 𐆡 𐆢 𐆣 𐆤 𐆥 𐆦 𐆧 𐆨 𐆩 𐆪 𐆫 𐆬 𐆭 𐆮 𐆯 𐆰 𐆱 𐆲 𐆳 𐆴 𐆵 𐆶 𐆷 𐆸 𐆹 𐆺 𐆻 𐆼 𐆽 𐆾 𐆿 𐇀 𐇁 𐇂 𐇃 𐇄 𐇅 𐇆 𐇇 𐇈 𐇉 𐇊 𐇋 𐇌 𐇍 𐇎 𐇏 𐇐 𐇑 𐇒 𐇓 𐇔 𐇕 𐇖 𐇗 𐇘 𐇙 𐇚 𐇛 𐇜 𐇝 𐇞 𐇟 𐇠 𐇡 𐇢 𐇣 𐇤 𐇥 𐇦 𐇧 𐇨 𐇩 𐇪 𐇫 𐇬 𐇭 𐇮 𐇯 𐇰 𐇱 𐇲 𐇳 𐇴 𐇵 𐇶 𐇷 𐇸 𐇹 𐇺 𐇻 𐇼 𐇽 𐇾 𐇿 𐈀 𐈁 𐈂 𐈃 𐈄 𐈅 𐈆 𐈇 𐈈 𐈉 𐈊 𐈋 𐈌 𐈍 𐈎 𐈏 𐈐 𐈑 𐈒 𐈓 𐈔 𐈕 𐈖 𐈗 𐈘 𐈙 𐈚 𐈛 𐈜 𐈝 𐈞 𐈟 𐈠 𐈡 𐈢 𐈣 𐈤 𐈥 𐈦 𐈧 𐈨 𐈩 𐈪 𐈫 𐈬 𐈭 𐈮 𐈯 𐈰 𐈱 𐈲 𐈳 𐈴 𐈵 𐈶 𐈷 𐈸 𐈹 𐈺 𐈻 𐈼 𐈽 𐈾 𐈿 𐉀 𐉁 𐉂 𐉃 𐉄 𐉅 𐉆 𐉇 𐉈 𐉉 𐉊 𐉋 𐉌 𐉍 𐉎 𐉏 𐉐 𐉑 𐉒 𐉓 𐉔 𐉕 𐉖 𐉗 𐉘 𐉙 𐉚 𐉛 𐉜 𐉝 𐉞 𐉟 𐉠 𐉡 𐉢 𐉣 𐉤 𐉥 𐉦 𐉧 𐉨 𐉩 𐉪 𐉫 𐉬 𐉭 𐉮 𐉯 𐉰 𐉱 𐉲 𐉳 𐉴 𐉵 𐉶 𐉷 𐉸 𐉹 𐉺 𐉻 𐉼 𐉽 𐉾 𐉿 𐊀 𐊁 𐊂 𐊃 𐊄 𐊅 𐊆 𐊇 𐊈 𐊉 𐊊 𐊋 𐊌 𐊍 𐊎 𐊏 𐊐 𐊑 𐊒 𐊓 𐊔 𐊕 𐊖 𐊗 𐊘 𐊙 𐊚 𐊛 𐊜 𐊝 𐊞 𐊟 𐊠 𐊡 𐊢 𐊣 𐊤 𐊥 𐊦 𐊧 𐊨 𐊩 𐊪 𐊫 𐊬 𐊭 𐊮 𐊯 𐊰 𐊱 𐊲 𐊳 𐊴 𐊵 𐊶 𐊷 𐊸 𐊹 𐊺 𐊻 𐊼 𐊽 𐊾 𐊿 𐋀 𐋁 𐋂 𐋃 𐋄 𐋅 𐋆 𐋇 𐋈 𐋉 𐋊 𐋋 𐋌 𐋍 𐋎 𐋏 𐋐 𐋑 𐋒 𐋓 𐋔 𐋕 𐋖 𐋗 𐋘 𐋙 𐋚 𐋛 𐋜 𐋝 𐋞 𐋟 𐋠 𐋡 𐋢 𐋣 𐋤 𐋥 𐋦 𐋧 𐋨 𐋩 𐋪 𐋫 𐋬 𐋭 𐋮 𐋯 𐋰 𐋱 𐋲 𐋳 𐋴 𐋵 𐋶 𐋷 𐋸 𐋹 𐋺 𐋻 𐋼 𐋽 𐋾 𐋿 𐌀 𐌁 𐌂 𐌃 𐌄 𐌅 𐌆 𐌇 𐌈 𐌉 𐌊 𐌋 𐌌 𐌍 𐌎 𐌏 𐌐 𐌑 𐌒 𐌓 𐌔 𐌕 𐌖 𐌗 𐌘 𐌙 𐌚 𐌛 𐌜 𐌝 𐌞 𐌟 𐌠 𐌡 𐌢 𐌣 𐌤 𐌥 𐌦 𐌧 𐌨 𐌩 𐌪 𐌫 𐌬 𐌭 𐌮 𐌯 𐌰

Left outer jamb : (  ) 

Right outer jamb : ( $\leftarrow$ ) 

Inner jambs :     and                                                                                                           

3, 4 and 5. Blocks from the forecourt of the mastaba of Kaemthenenet, o m. 80 cent., o m. 45 cent. and 1 m. 03 cent. long respectively. Copies and translation on p. 82-88.

1. East wall, north of door. Painted scene. Fishing, fish-curing.

PLATE LXIII. — From the same tomb. West wall, south stela.

PLATE LXV. — Same tomb. West wall, north stela.

1. South wall, painted only, unfinished.

2. North wall, painted only.

3. West wall, south of south stela. In relief.

4. West wall, north of north stela. Painted only.



# INDEX.

Abdelhakem, iv.  
 Abu el Abbas, 7, 97, 111.  
 Abu Salih, iv.  
 Air-shafts, 14, 18.  
 Amphoræ, 15, 16, 18.  
 Anastasius, 1, iii.  
 Apse, 5, 97.  
 Archangels, 17, 100, 111.  
 Assa, 24, 79-81.  
  
 Bakery, 8, 9.  
 Basins, 10, 12, 105.  
 Bawit, v.  
 Bir el Qutala, 21, 22.  
 Blemmye, 13, 109.  
 Boar, skull of, 15.  
  
 Casing of pyramid, 19.  
 Cemetery, 102.  
 Combs, 9, 14.  
 Conch, 17, 107.  
 Consoles, 12.  
 Crosses, 7, 9, 11, 18, 98, 100, 107.  
  
 Death-mask, 20, 112.  
 Doll, 17.  
 Domes, 16, 109.  
 Drain, 19.  
 Draught-board, 21, 114.  
 Drill, 3.  
  
 Epiphany tank, 2, 98.  
 Esse rescript, 24, 79-81.  
  
 Flax-harvest, 23.

Foundation-stones, 2.  
 Founder's cell, 11, 100, 109.  
 Fullers' seat, 110.  
  
 Glass, 4, 6.  
 Gravestones, 7.  
 Greek inscriptions, 112.  
  
 Haikal, 2, 4, 5, 98, 108.  
 Head-rest, 21, 23.  
 Hegab, 5.  
 Hone, 21.  
 Hospital, 8, 10, 15, 95, 98, 101.  
  
 Jeremias, seat, 109.  
 Jonah, 109.  
 John of Nikiou, 1, ii, iii.  
  
 Kaemthenenet, 24, 82, 88, 115.  
 Khaemuas, 4, 7, 98.  
 Kiln, 23.  
 Knucklebones, 114.  
  
 Lamps, 7, 18, 98, 109.  
  
 Maces, 20.  
 Mandara, 2, 7, 95, 99, 110.  
 Mat-burials, 21, 22.  
 Mosaics, 6.  
  
 Nails, 105, 109, 112.  
 Narthex, 2, 6, 7, 97, 102.  
 Nectanebo I<sup>st</sup>, 4, 10, 89-93, 97, 105.  
 Neferkara, 19.

Ostraca, 13, 15, 109.  
 Ovens, 17, 101.  
  
 Pyramid, Teta, 19-22, 112.  
  
 Rashepses, 23, 24, 79-81, 115.  
 Rameses II, 21, 101, 114.  
 Refectory, 17.  
 Roofs, 4, 8.  
  
 Safflower, 12.  
 Safi al din, iii.  
 Sety I<sup>st</sup>, 21.  
 Ship, 13, 100.  
 Stables, 8.  
 Stag, 23.  
 Stands, 10, 12, 14, 105, 108.  
 Stela, Apis, 16.  
 Stela, Nectanebes, 10, 89, 93.  
 Stoup, 102.  
  
 Teta-em-saf, 113.  
 Theodosius, iii.  
  
 Ushabtis, 21, 23.  
  
 Vases, 9, 16, 18.  
 Vase-making, 26.  
 Virtues, frieze, 9, 99.  
  
 Windows, 4, 5, 15, 17, 101.  
 Wine-cellars, 8, 18, 95.  
 Wooden courses, 6, 10, 99.



## LIST OF PLATES.

FRONTISPIECE... Painting from a cell (709).

PLATE I..... Plan of monastery.

II..... Church, from west.

III..... Church, from south-east.

IV..... East end of church.

V..... Church and mandara from west.

VI..... Hospital (?).

VII..... Screen in room 1706.

VIII.... Painting from cell (709).

IX..... Frieze from same cell.

X..... Wall paintings.

XI..... Painted columns, wall painting.

XII.... Wall paintings from founder's room.

XIII.... Views of smaller rooms.

XIV.... Doorways, a niche, stoup (?).

XV.... Bakery, narthex, gravestones.

XVI.... Capitals.

XVI A.. Capitals, a drawing.

XVII to } Capitals.  
XXVIII.. }

XXIX... Capitals and base.

XXX... Door-posts.

XXXI to } Friezes, lintels, cornices.  
XXXVI.. }

PLATE XXXVII. Conchs.

XXXVIII. Jar-stands, crosses.

XXXIX.. } Wood-work.  
XL..... }

XLI.... Ivory inlay, bronze.

XLII... Marble, lamps, bone, an ostrakon.

XLIII... Architectural details.

XLIV to } Inscriptions.  
LI..... }

LII.... Nekthorheb stela.

LIII.... Temple of Teta pyramid.

LIV.... Fragments from temple walls.

LV.... Death mask.

LVI.... Head of limestone statue.

LVII... Statue of Teta-em-saf.

LVIII.. } Draught-board.  
LIX.... }





LX.... Head of Rashepses.

LXI.... A stela, the Assa rescript, Kaem-  
thenenet.

LXII to } Tomb of Hernkau and Sekhemhathor.  
LXVI.. }



ERRATA.

Page 25, n° 915, *read* :    .  
33, bottom line, *for* : TUK, *read* : TUKI.  
37, l. 14, *for* : bloe, *read* : block.

Page 39, l. 3, *for* : pl. XVII, *read* : pl. XLVII.  
67, n° 139, l. 10, *for* : ΠΑΝΓΩΧ, *read* : ΠΑΝ-  
ΤΩΧ.







## Pl. I

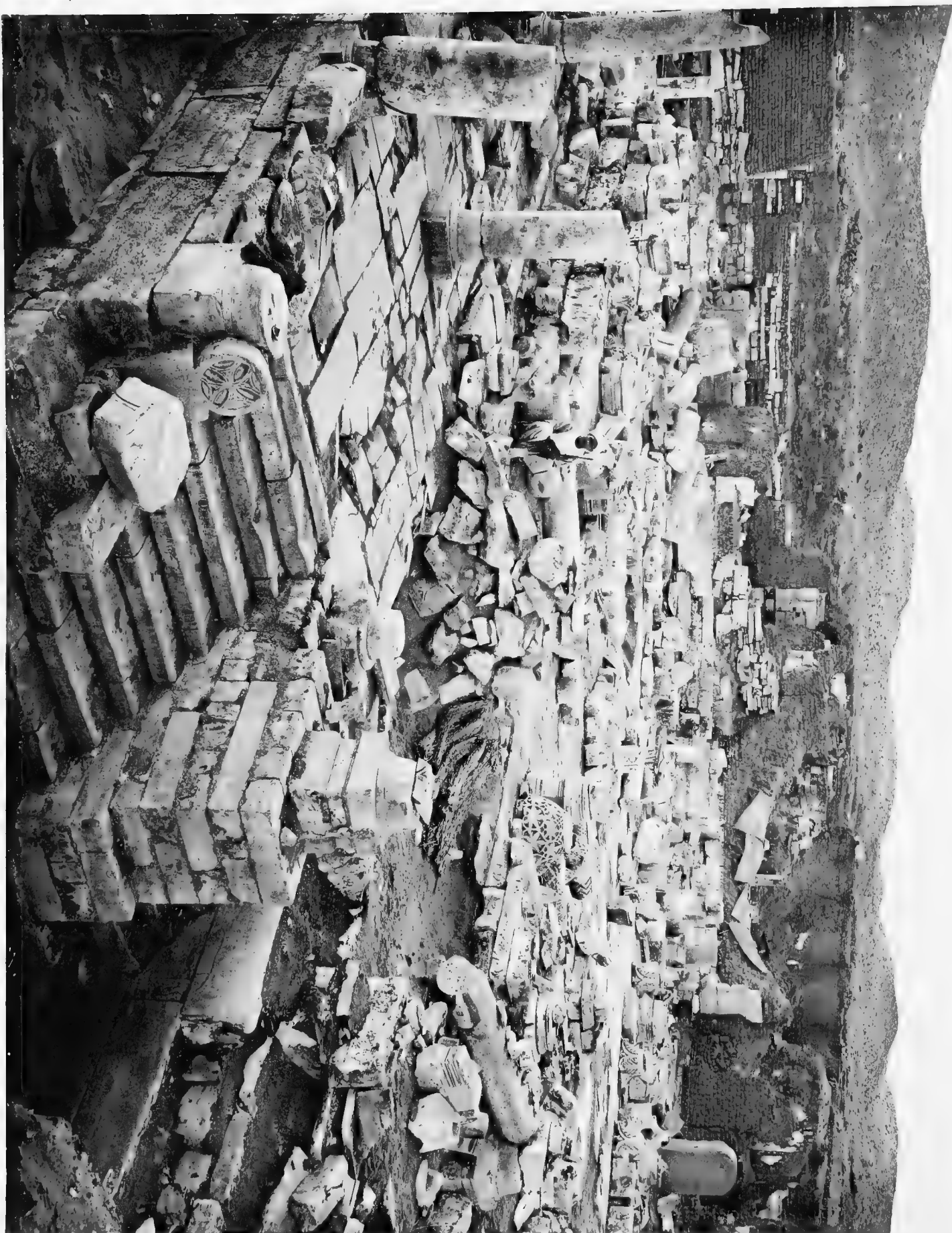






CHURCH. FROM THE WEST.









EAST END OF CHURCH, FROM S.



EAST END OF CHURCH, FROM N.





PART OF CHURCH AND OUTER COURT, FROM W.





N. GROUP OF CHAMBERS, HOSPITAL (?).





SCREEN, IN ROOM 1706.





ALTAR IN CELL (709).





FRIEZE FROM A CELL (709).

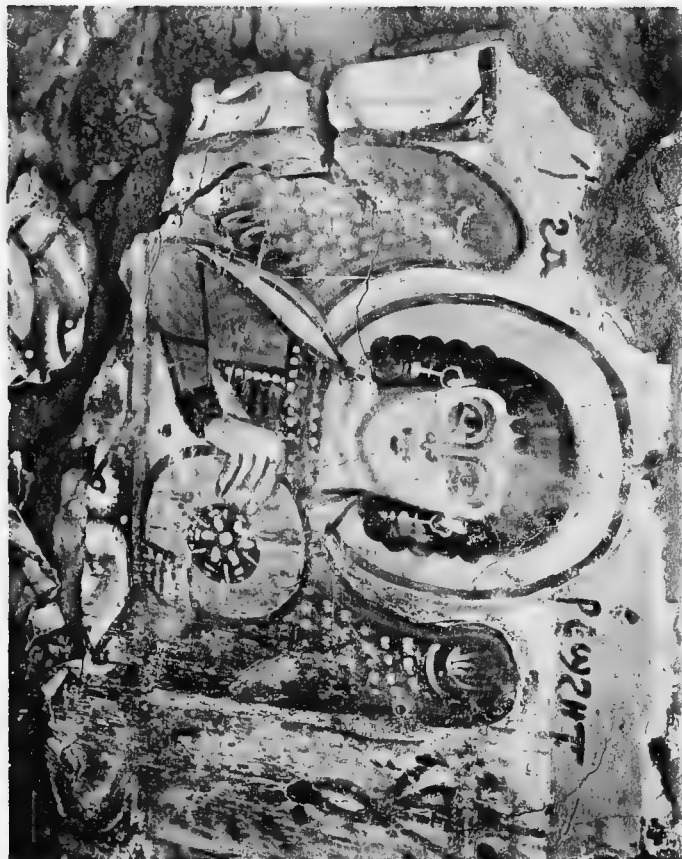




1



2



3



4







1



2



3



4





FROM ROOM OF APA IEPEMIAS

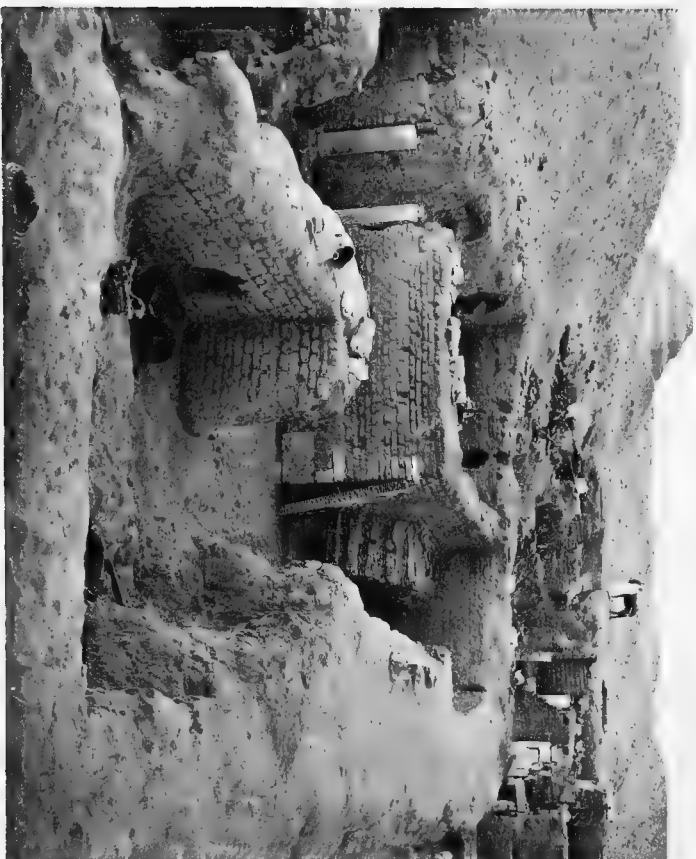




1



2



3



4





1



2



3



4

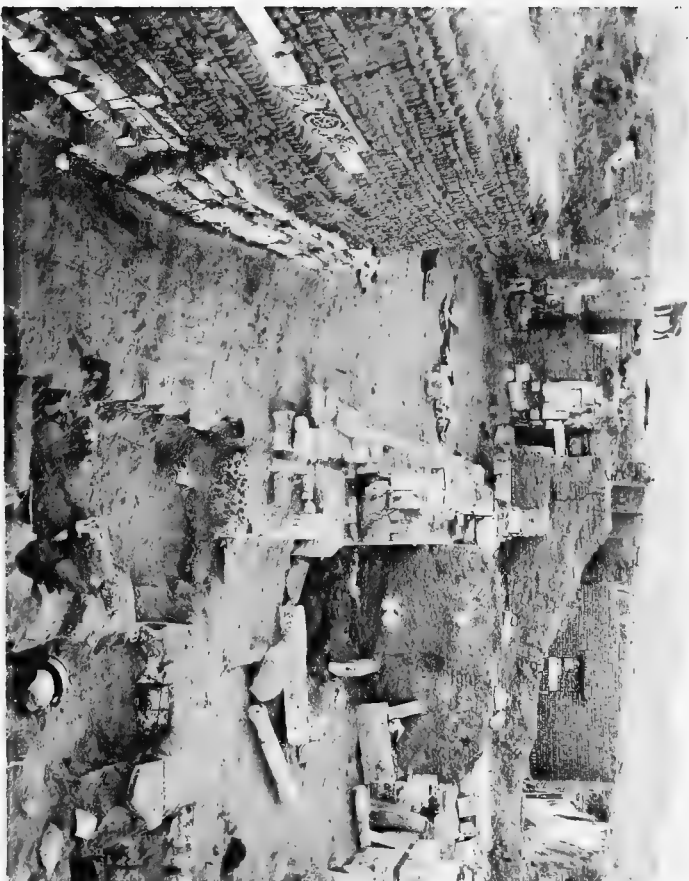




1



2



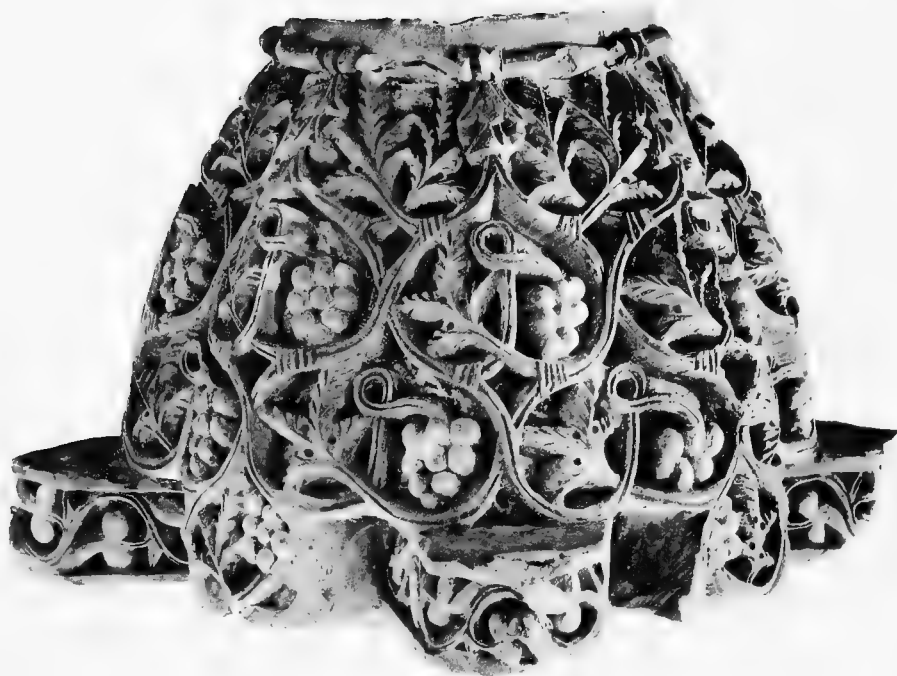
3



4



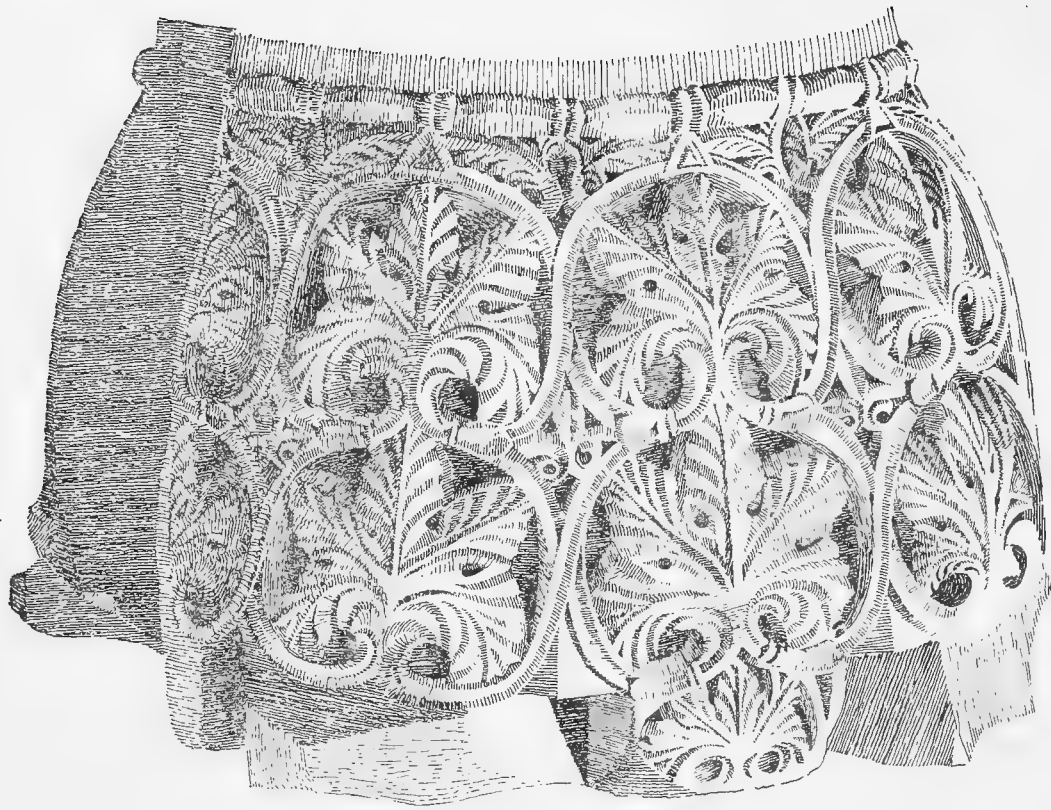
2



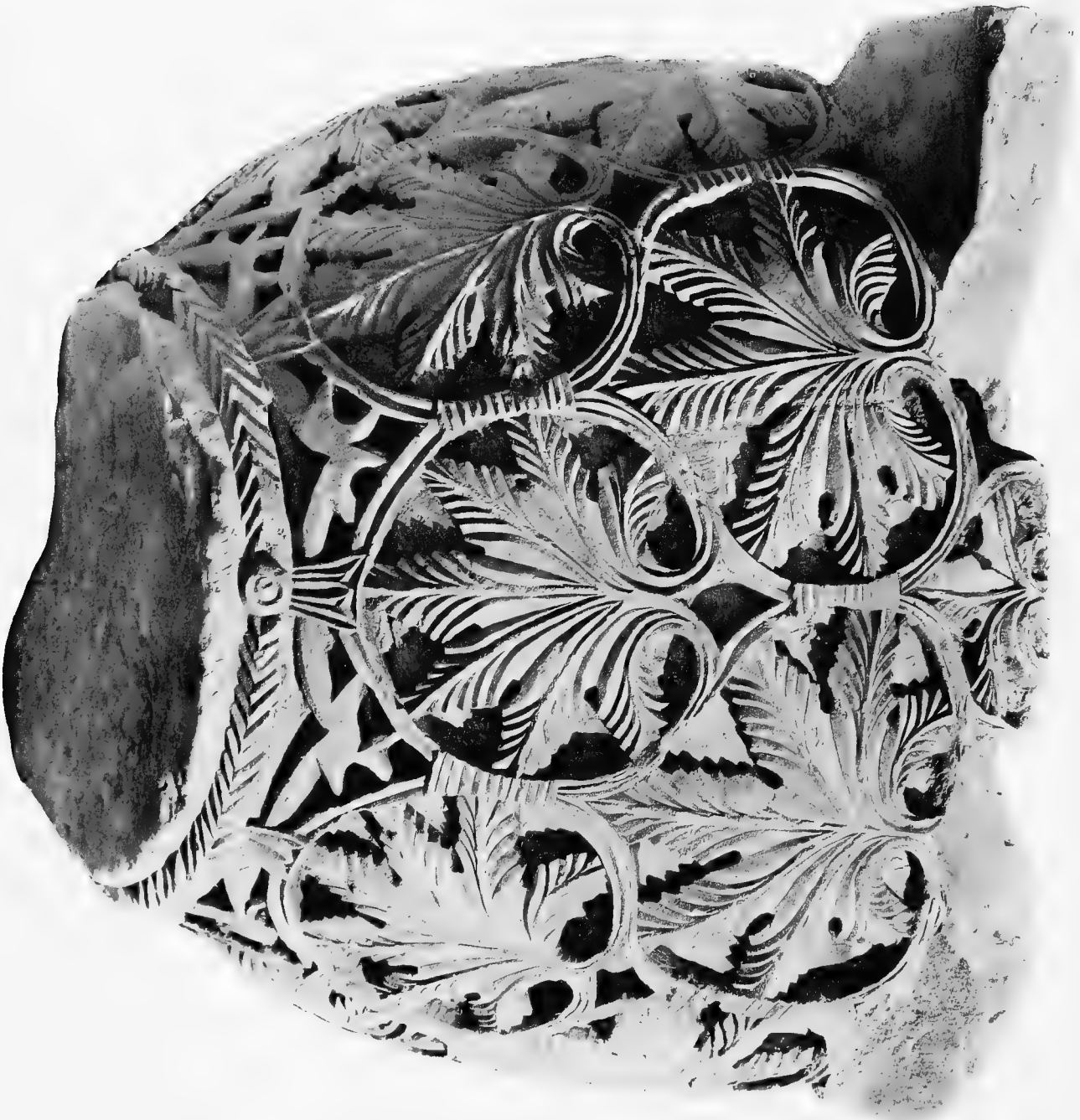
1























1



2



3



4

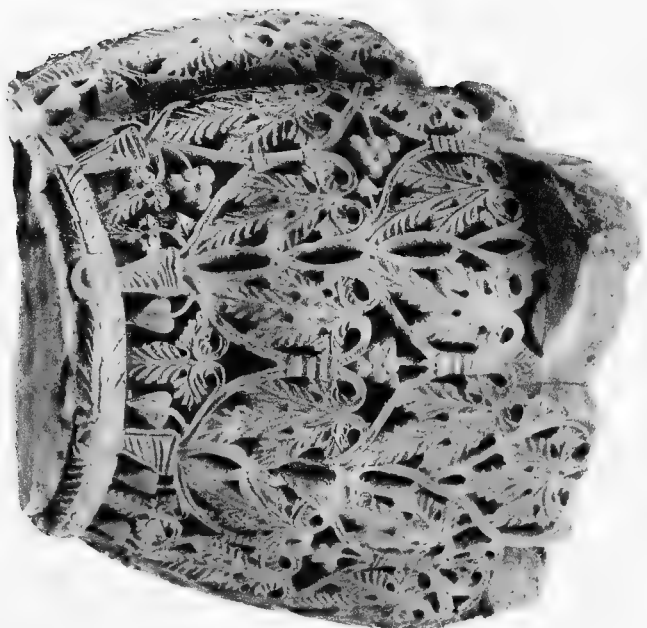




1



2



3



4





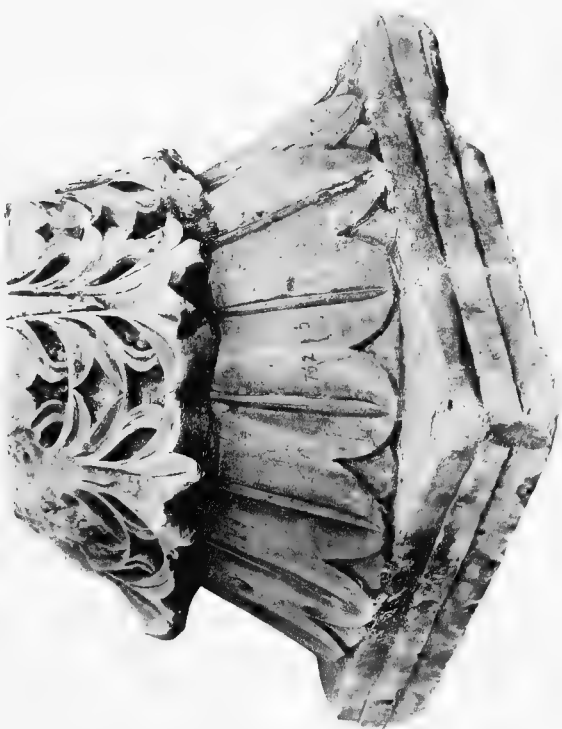
1



2



3



4



5



6

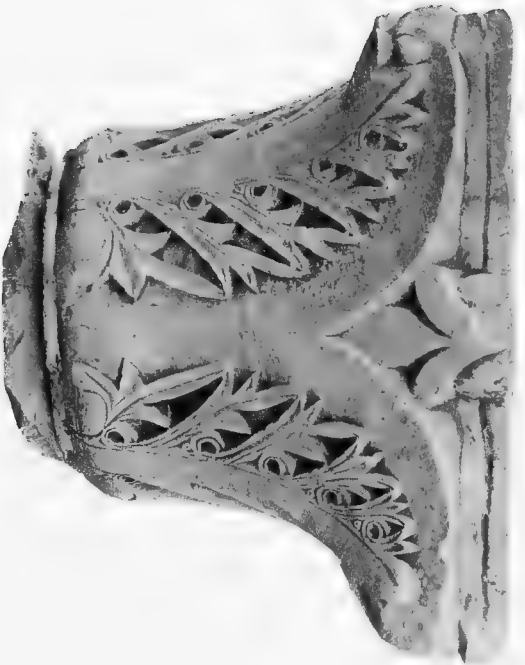




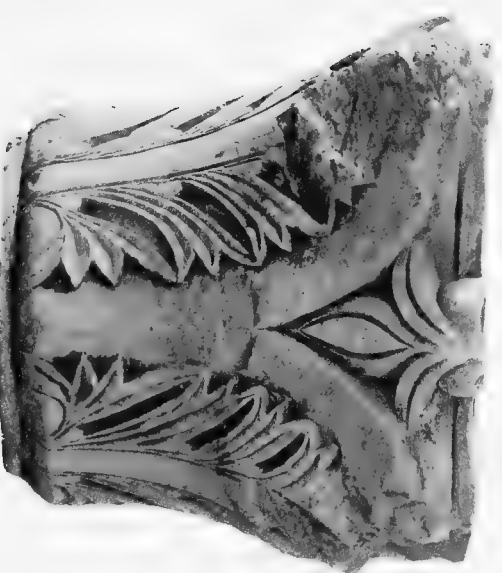
1



2



3



4





1



2



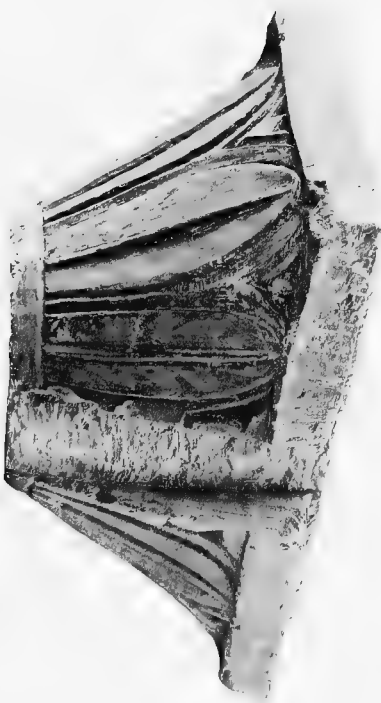
3



4



5



6











9



9



f



8



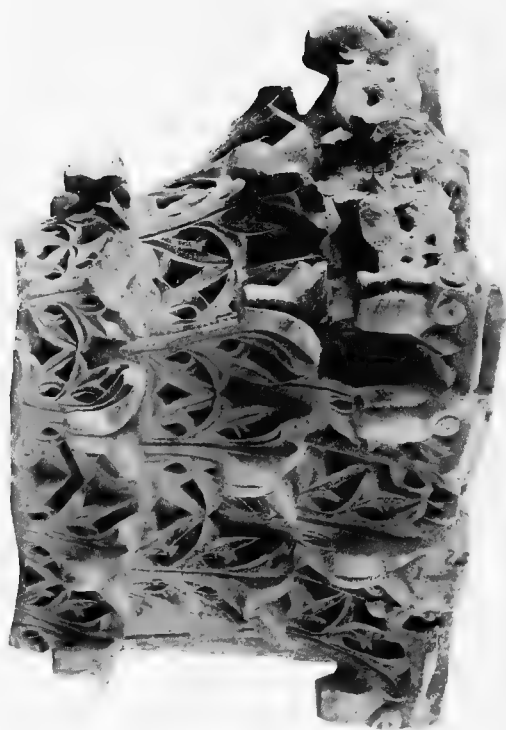
7



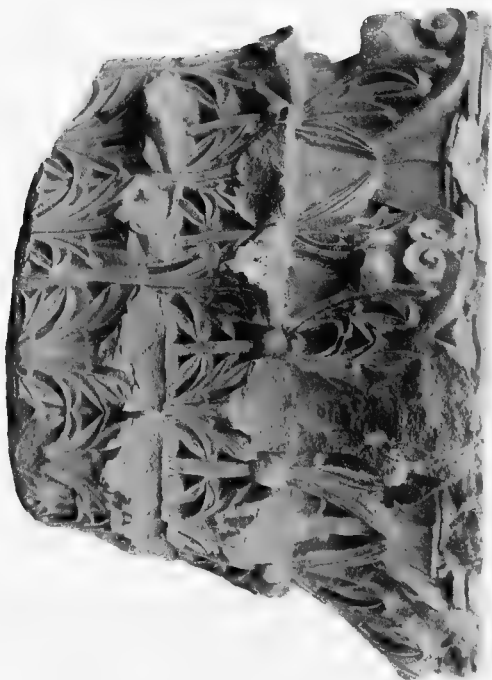
1







1



2



3



4



5

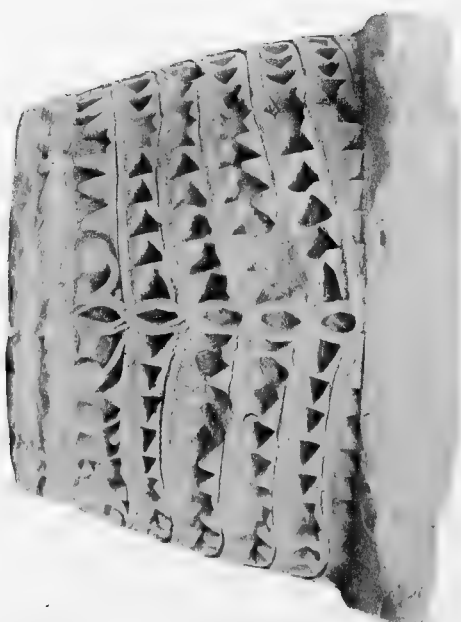




1



2



3



4

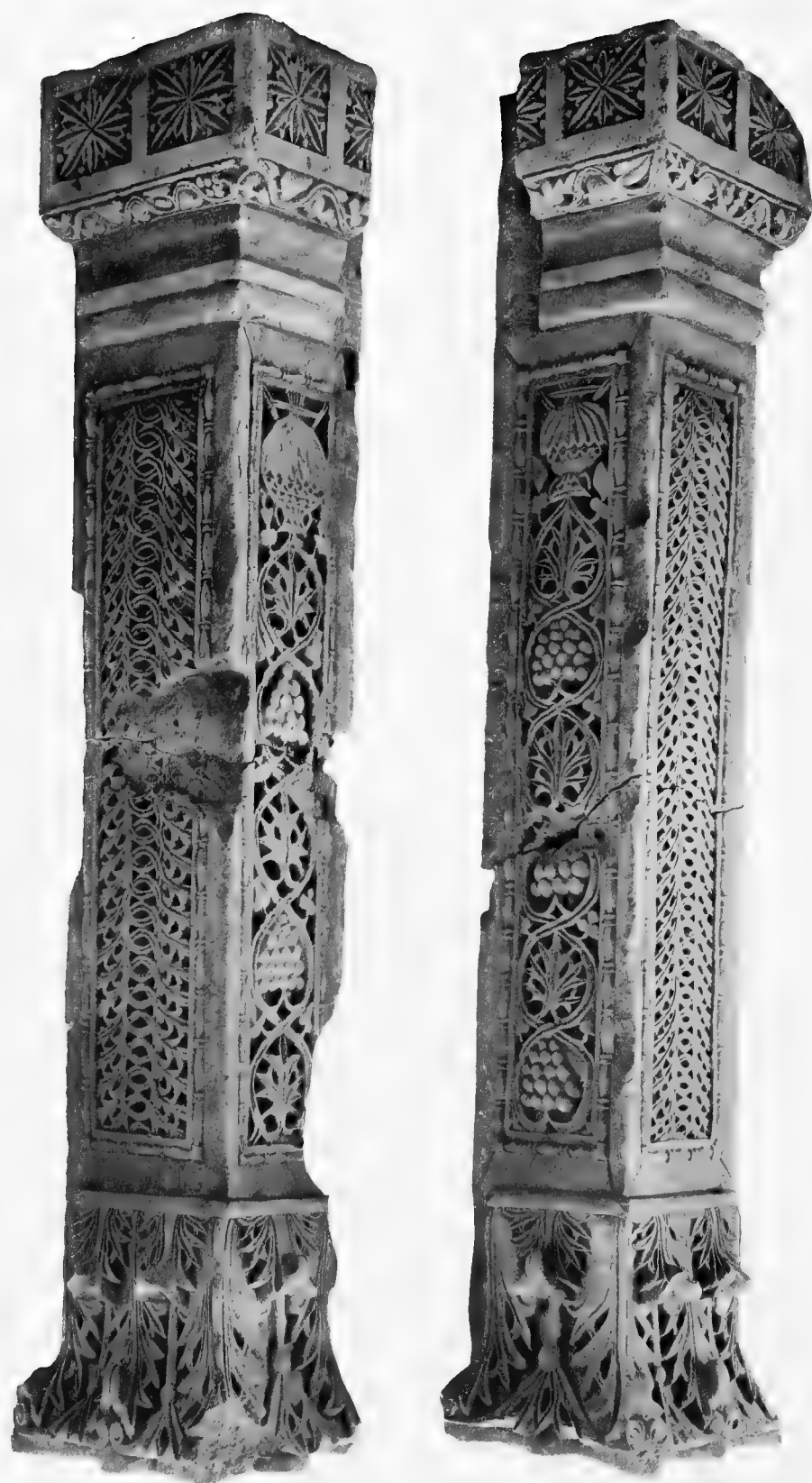


5



6





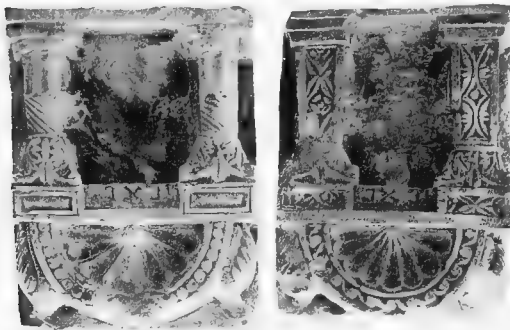




1



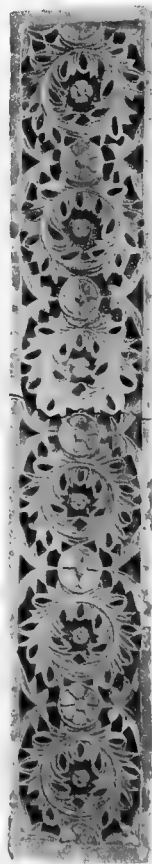
4



5



3

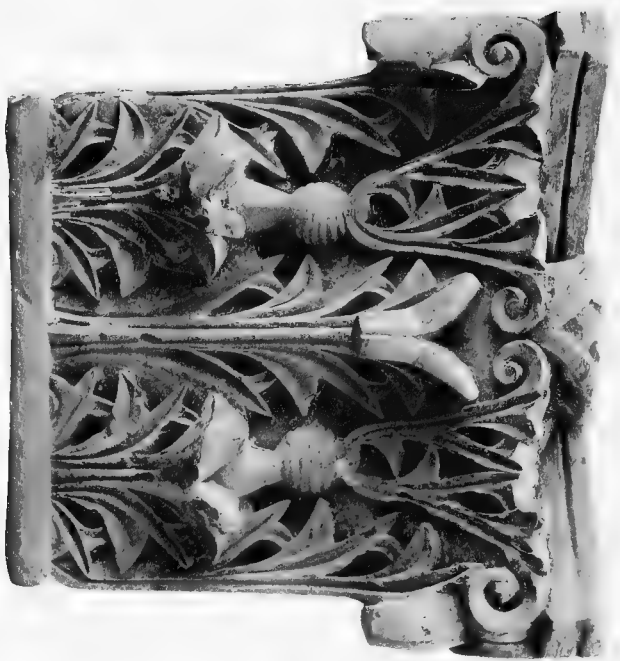


2

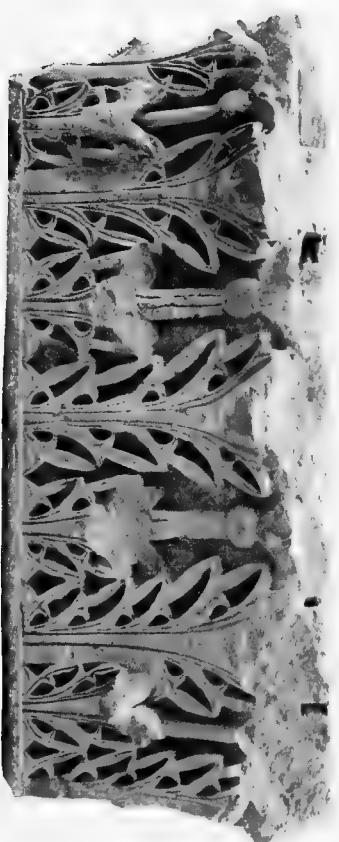


6





1

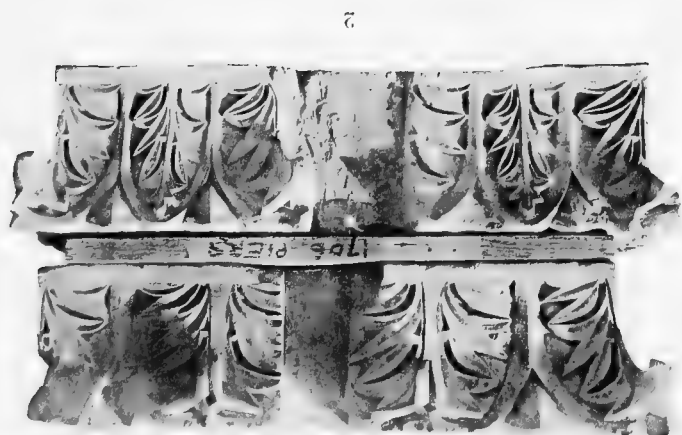
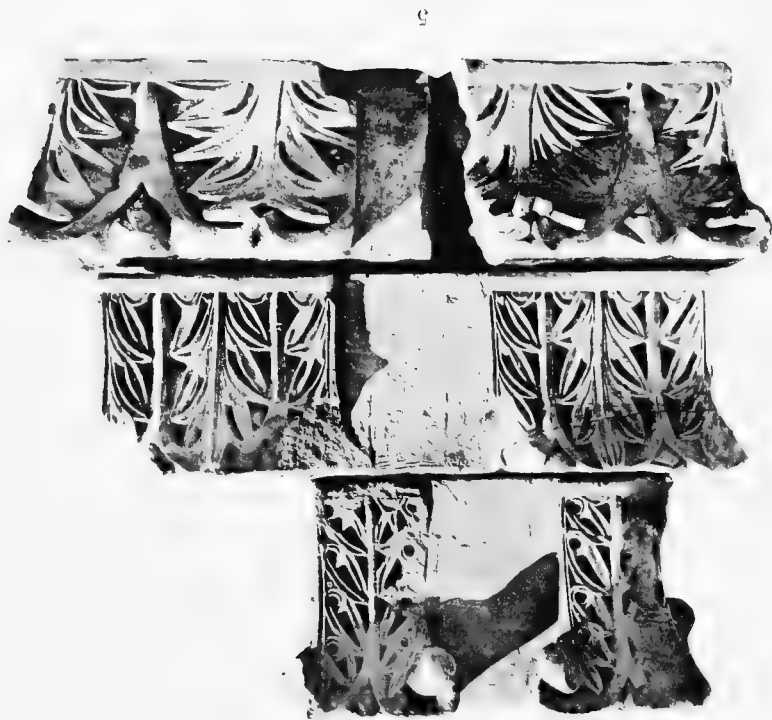
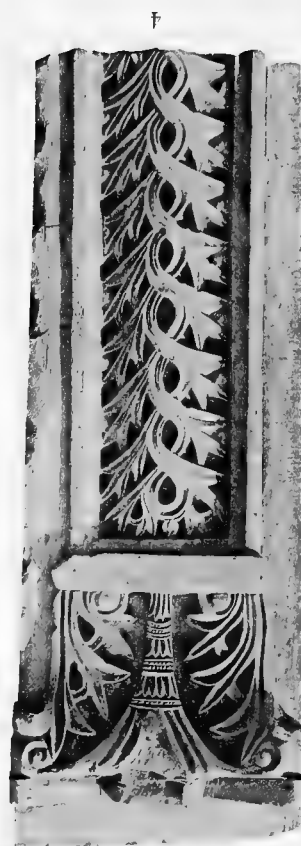


3



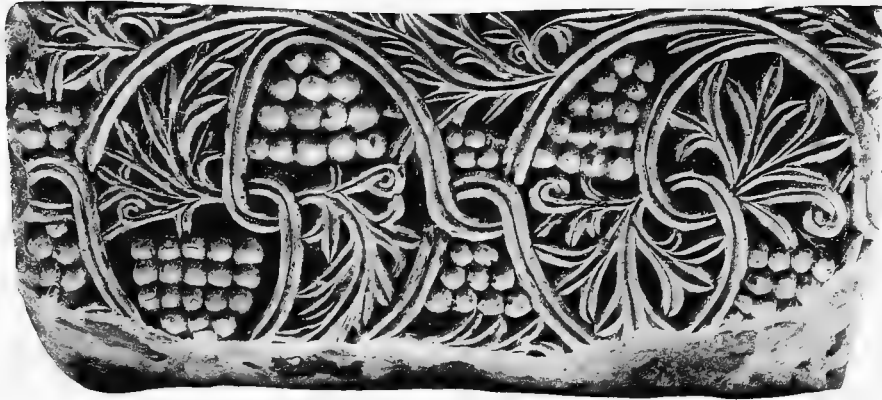
2



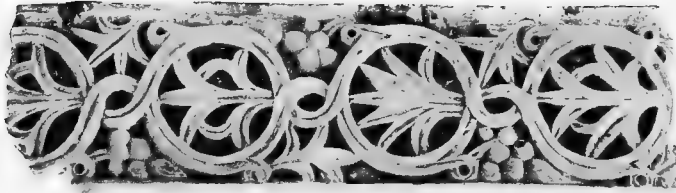




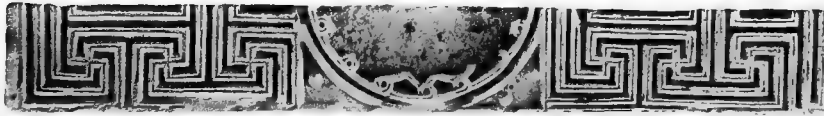
f



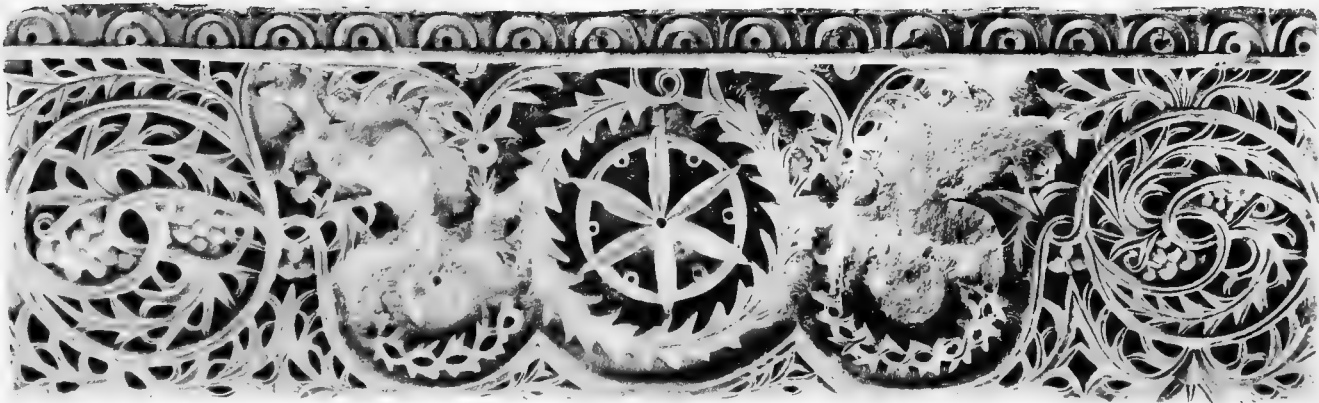
3



2



1









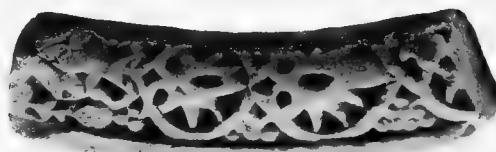
8



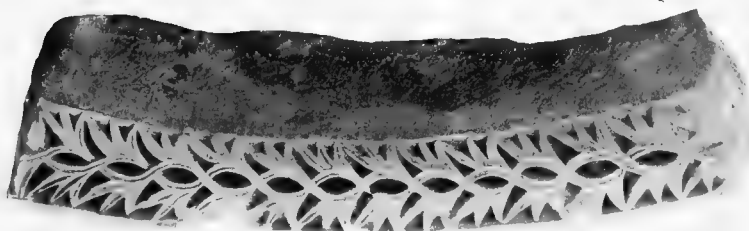
7



9



5



4



3



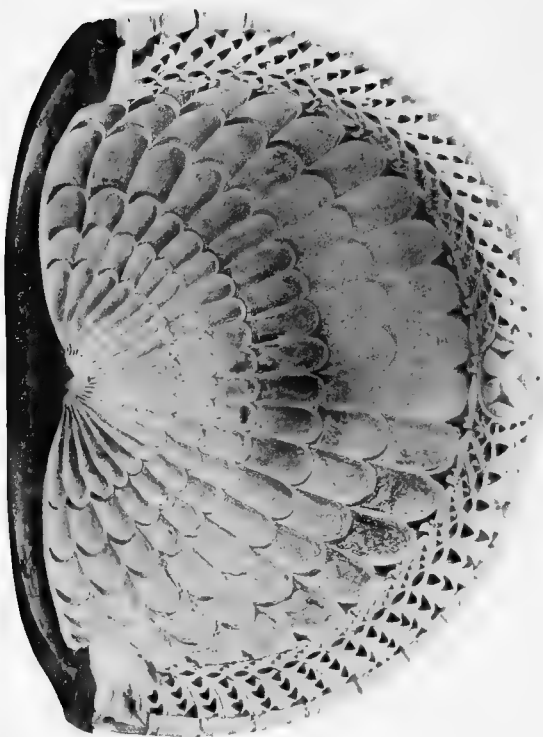
2



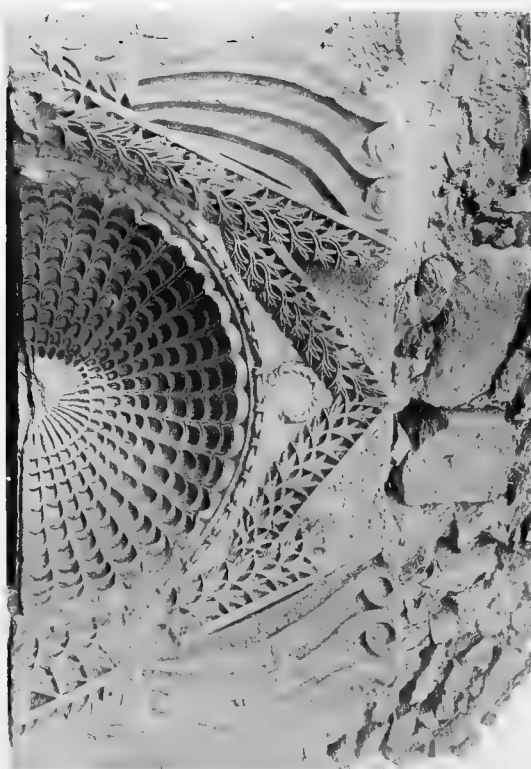
1



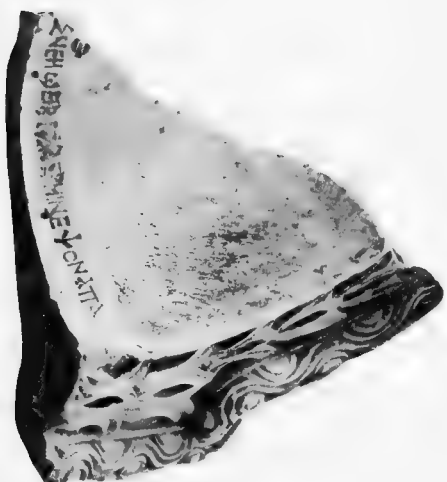




1



2



3



4





1



2



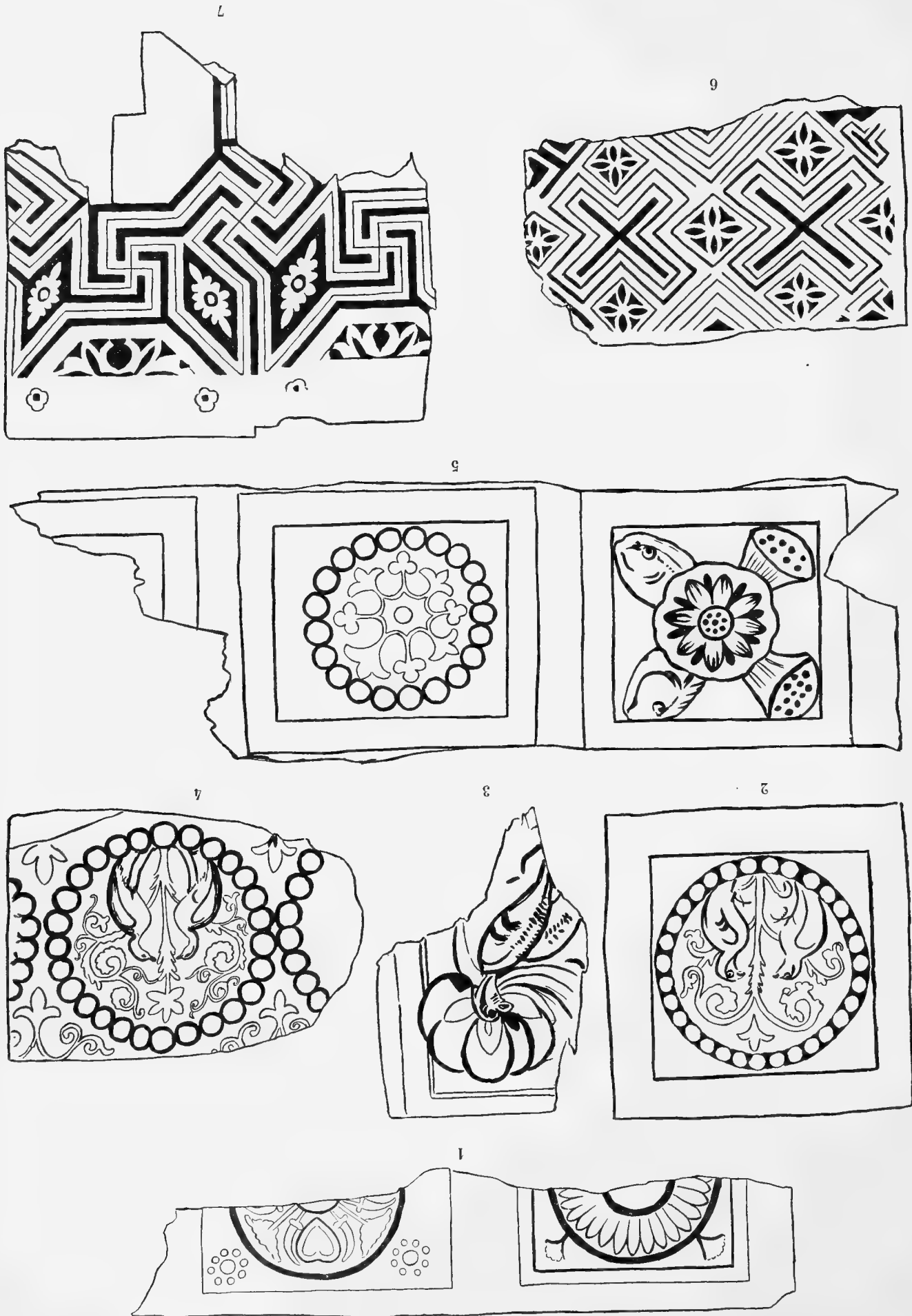
3



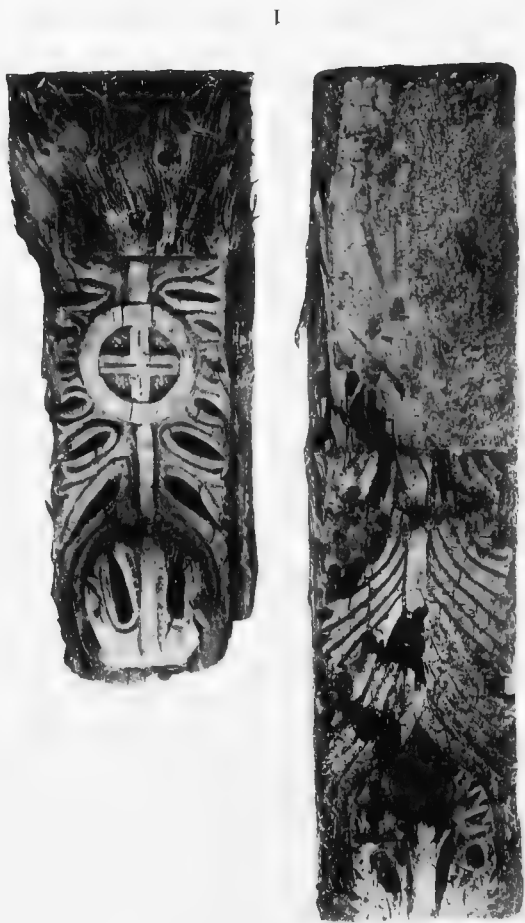
4









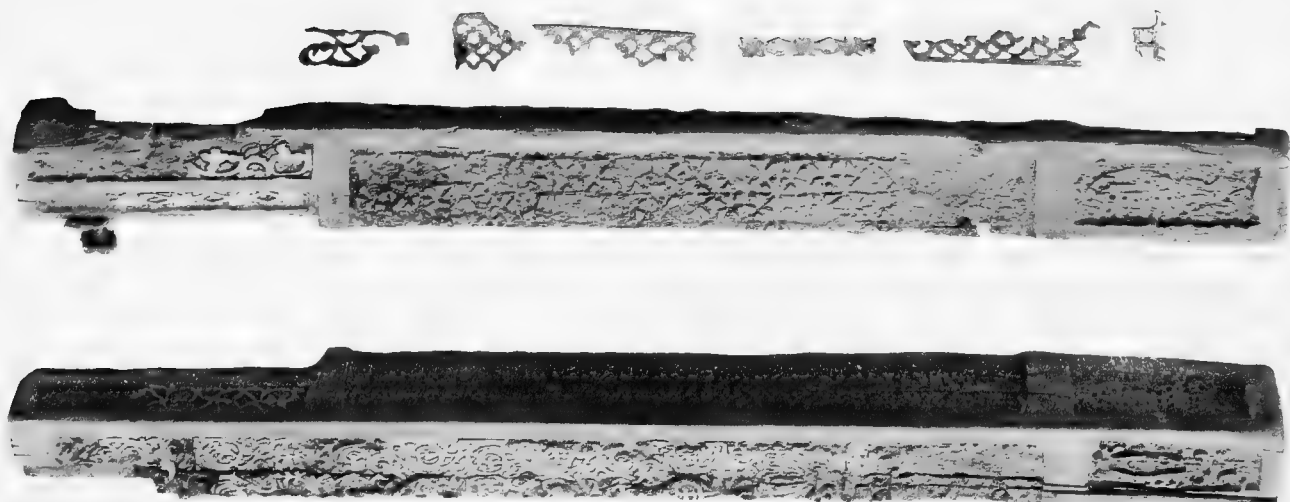




2



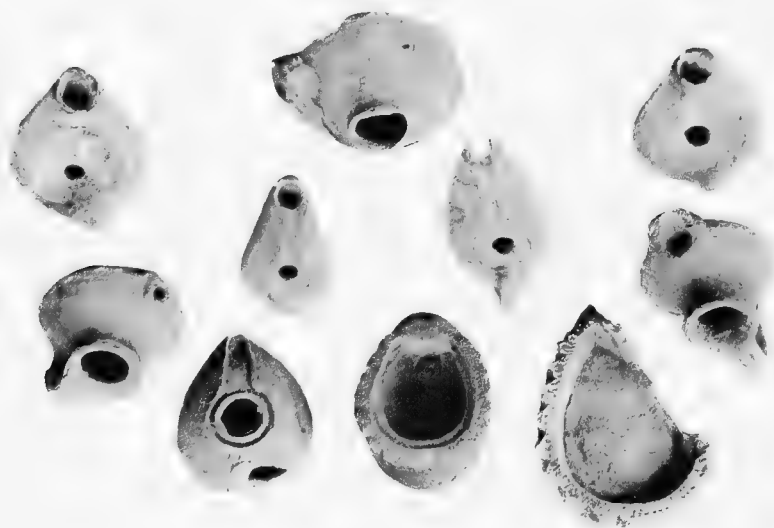
1







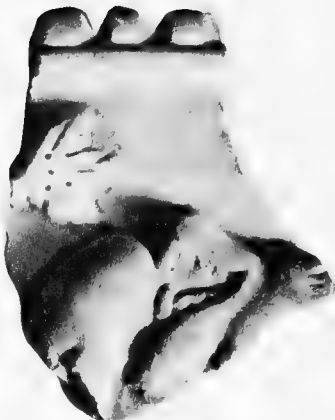
1



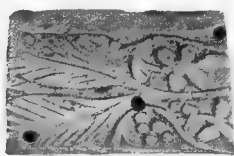
2



3



4



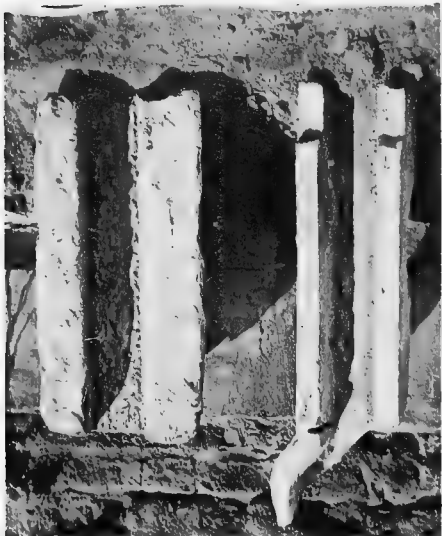
5







4



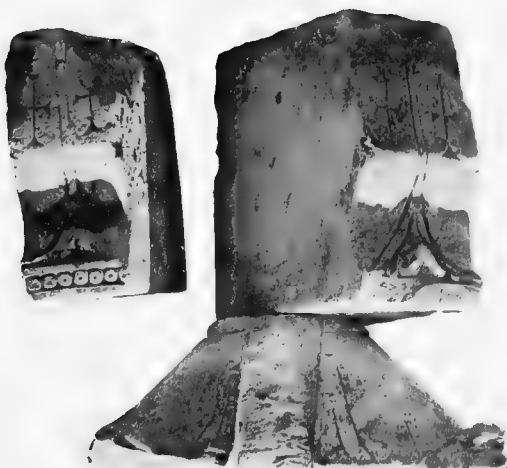
5



3

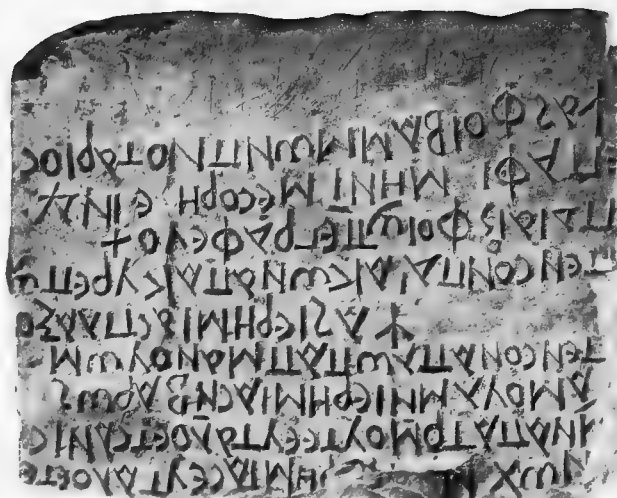
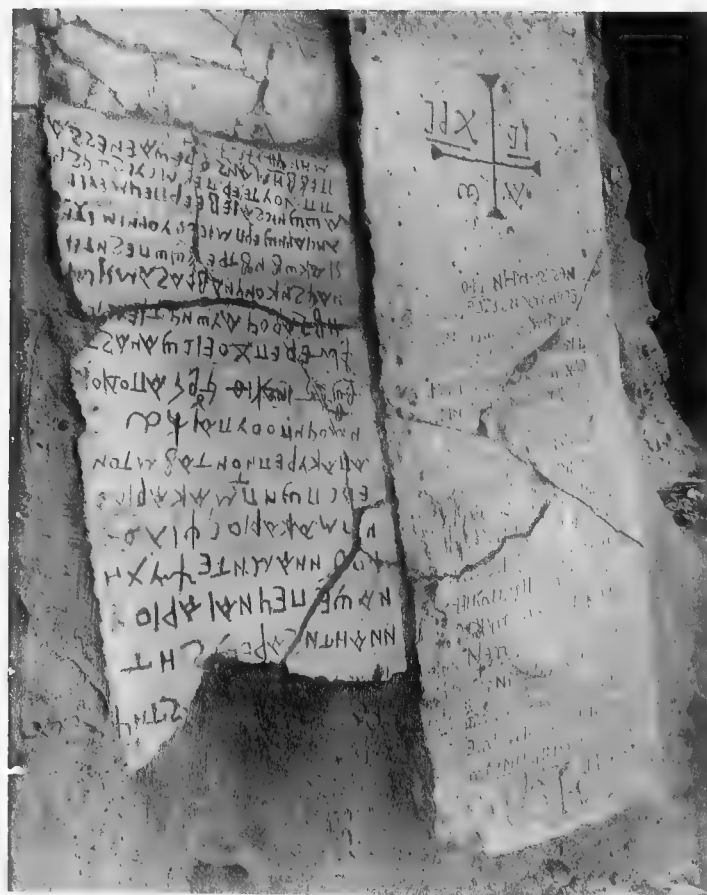
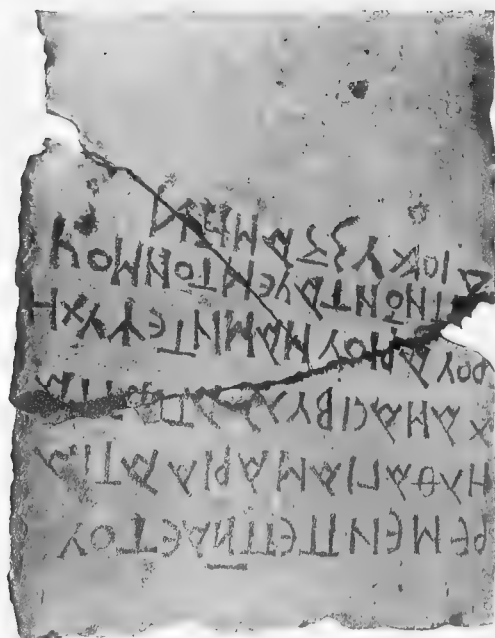


1



2







POPHITHCNEN  
ETPOCTOCTH  
HOITENEITMAOYTAAATENEITWUENEIOCTH  
TICKOTOCNETOTABITHPOTATIAANTWUNIOCTAP

HAKEITHOIT  
AOXENIA7A  
APATAPHEPHMAKIBENNU

PAITTEITMAN2MOOC  
NNEPA2TIAITPAE  
ITPA2TICITTEXCIO

WINEE  
KPAKOCN  
TEPEKON

WHPEITENNA6TOAA

ATIAEPHIAAPRANT

ABATIAIE  
ATIAITIA  
IOTEHAT  
ATAITNOY  
TACONPOINIA  
MIAHMONC 907

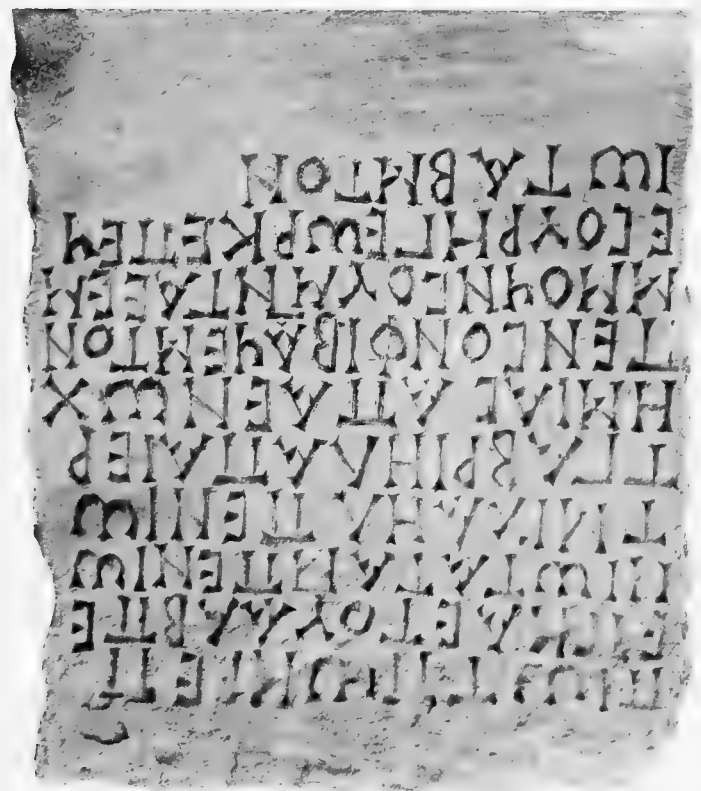
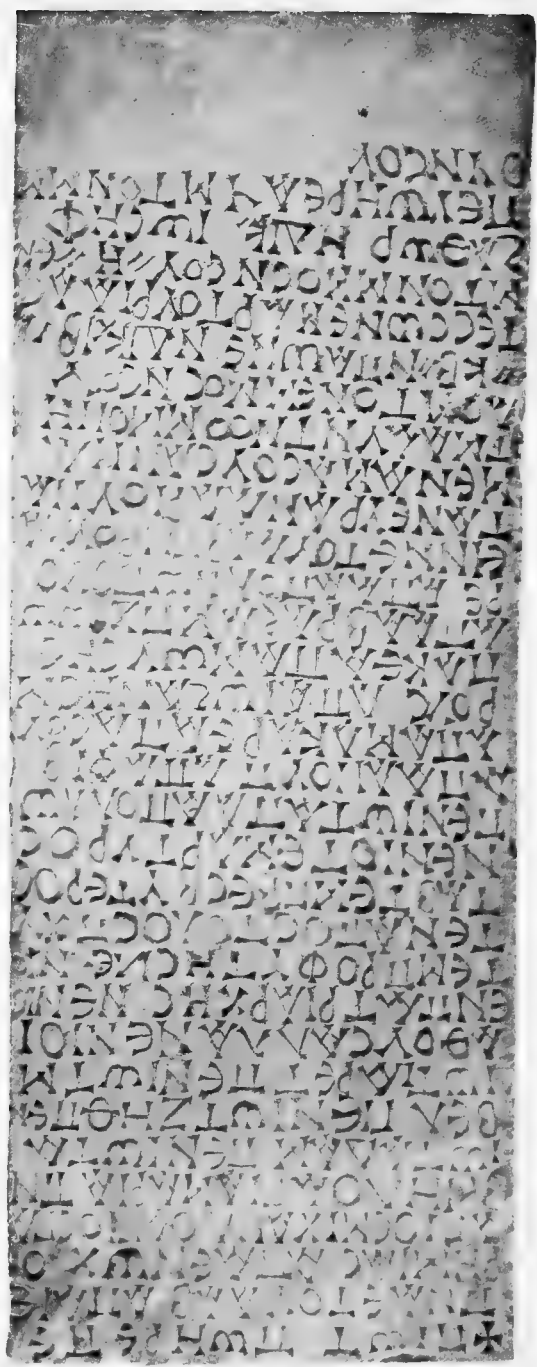
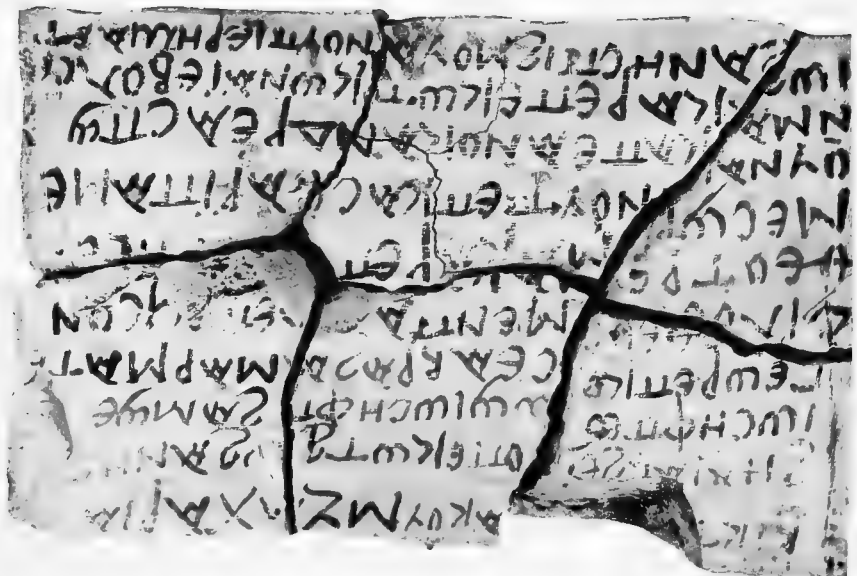
TEHICRITIA  
TENICRITIA  
TENICRITIA  
TENICRITIA  
TENICRITIA  
TENICRITIA  
TENICRITIA  
TENICRITIA  
TENICRITIA  
TENICRITIA

THIOCTTU  
THAE TOYA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA

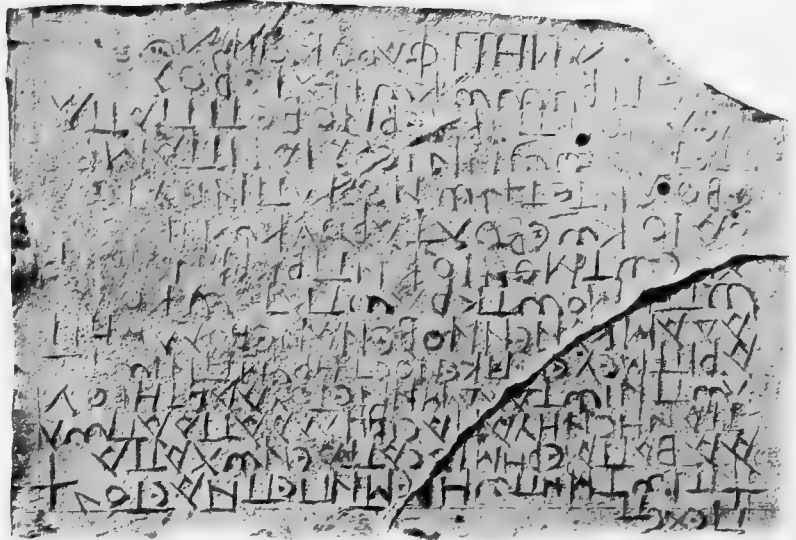
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA

ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA  
ATIAEPHIA

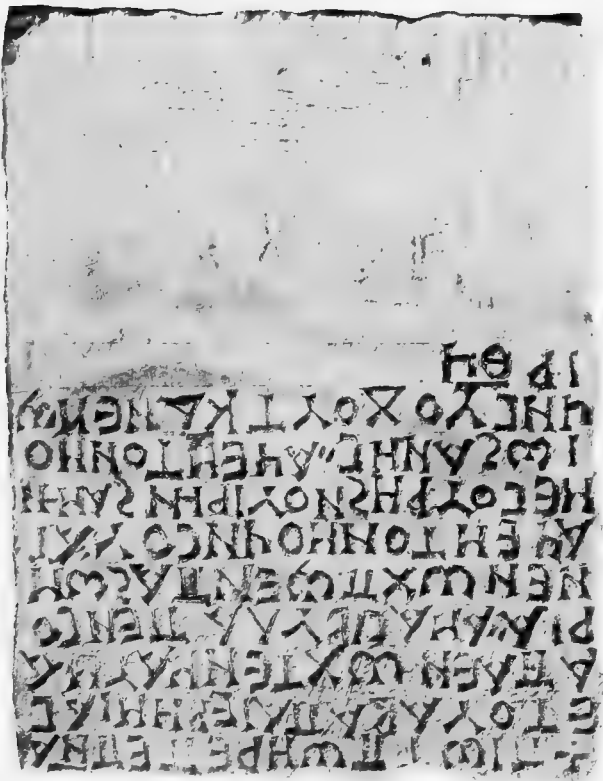




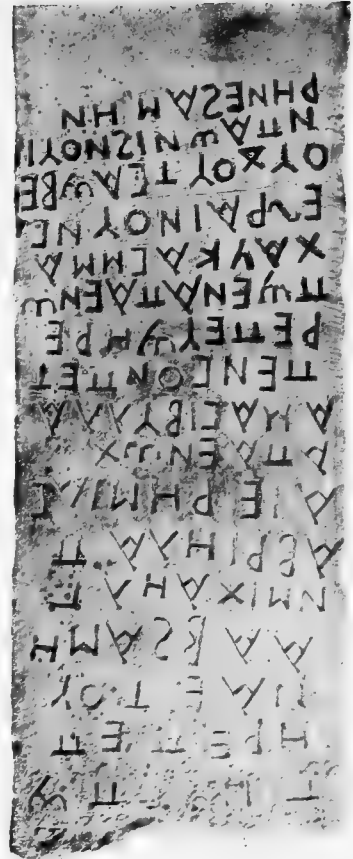




1



2



3

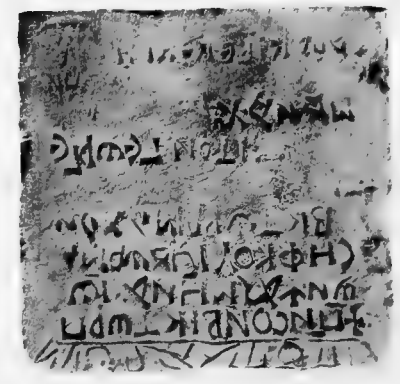


4



2

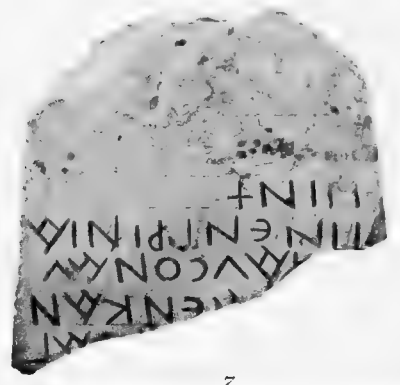




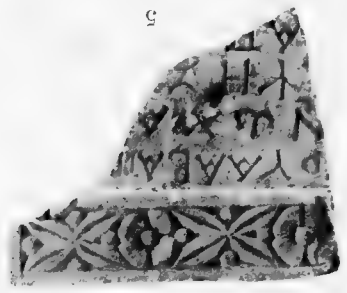
1



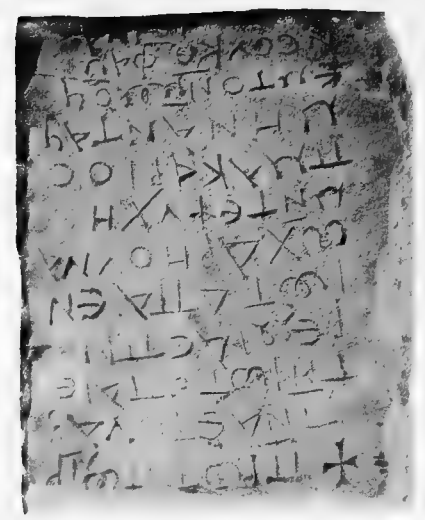
2



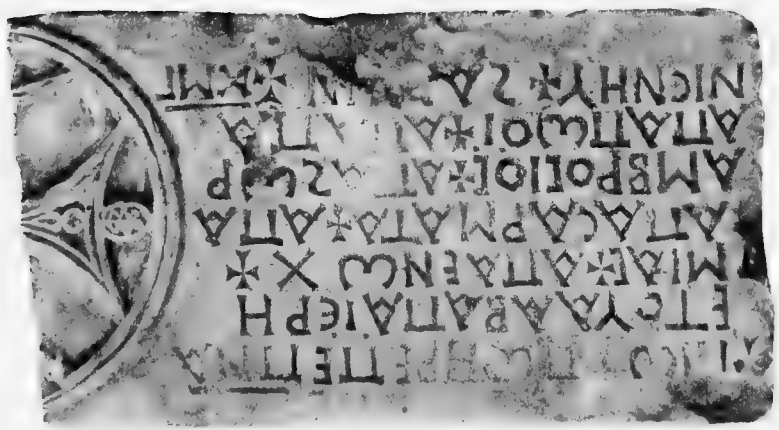
3



4



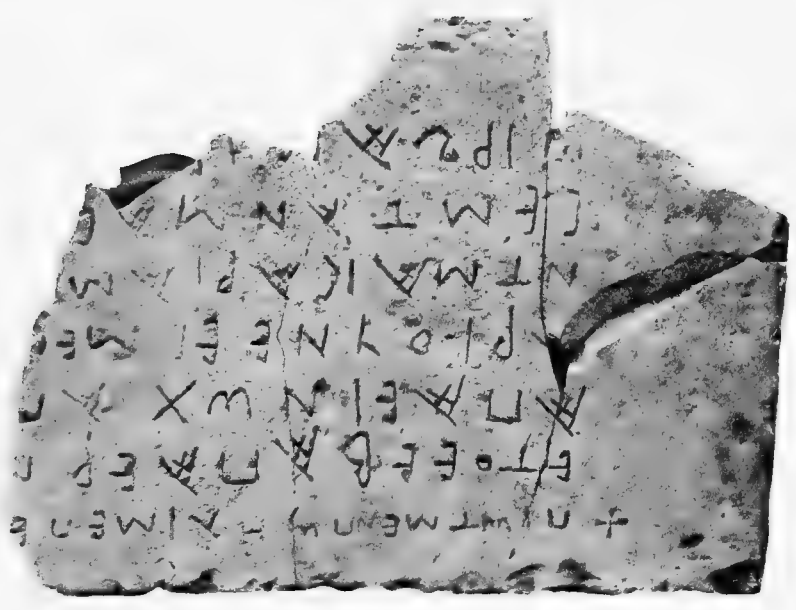
5



6

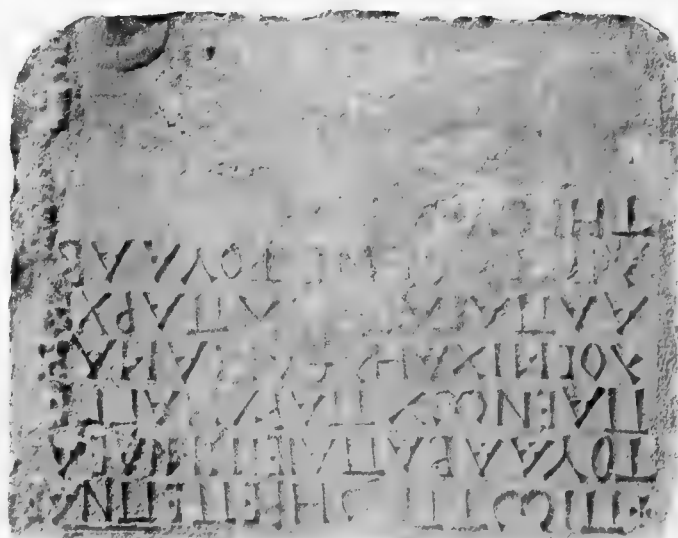


7

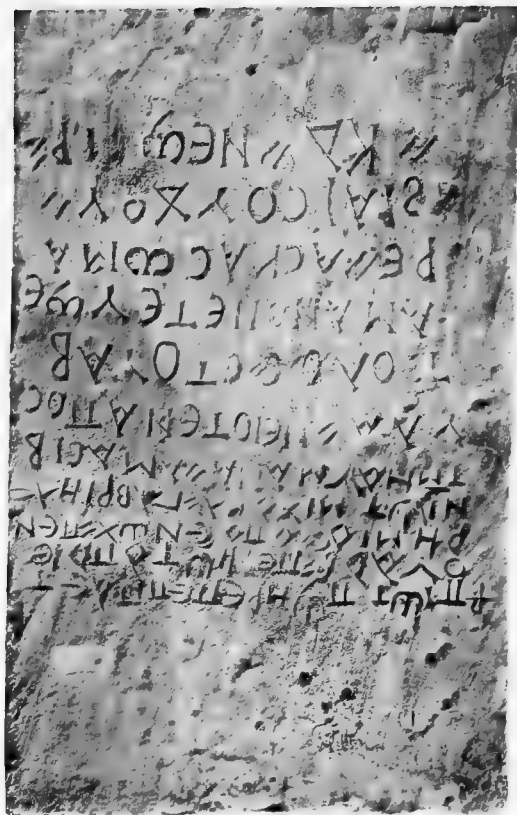


8

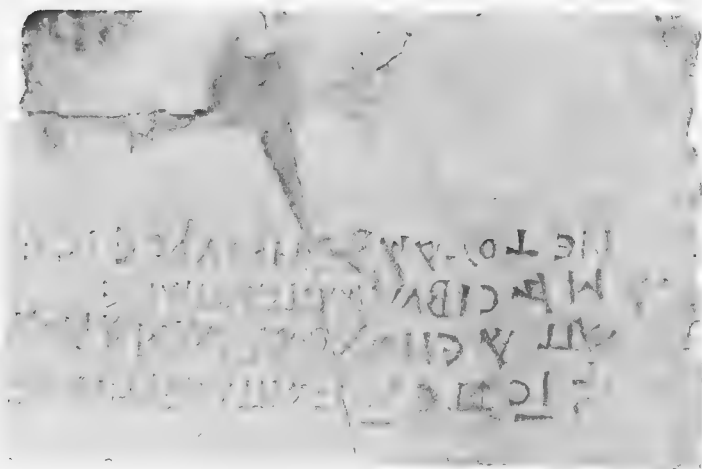




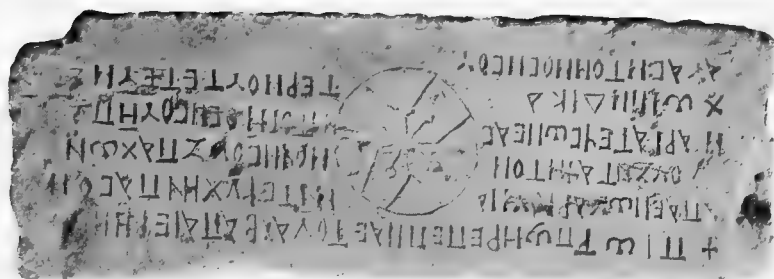
1



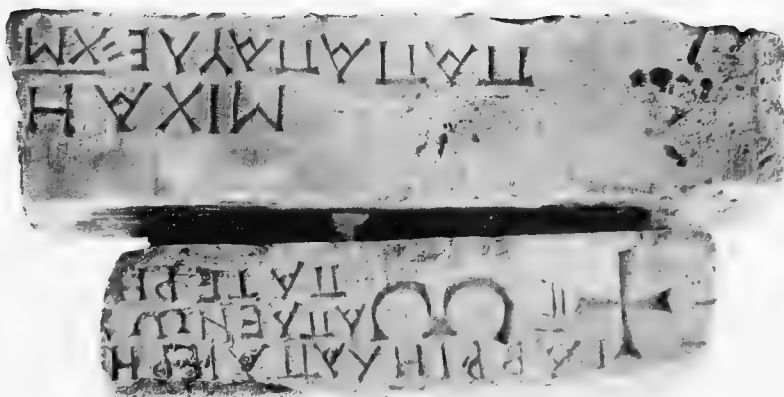
3



2

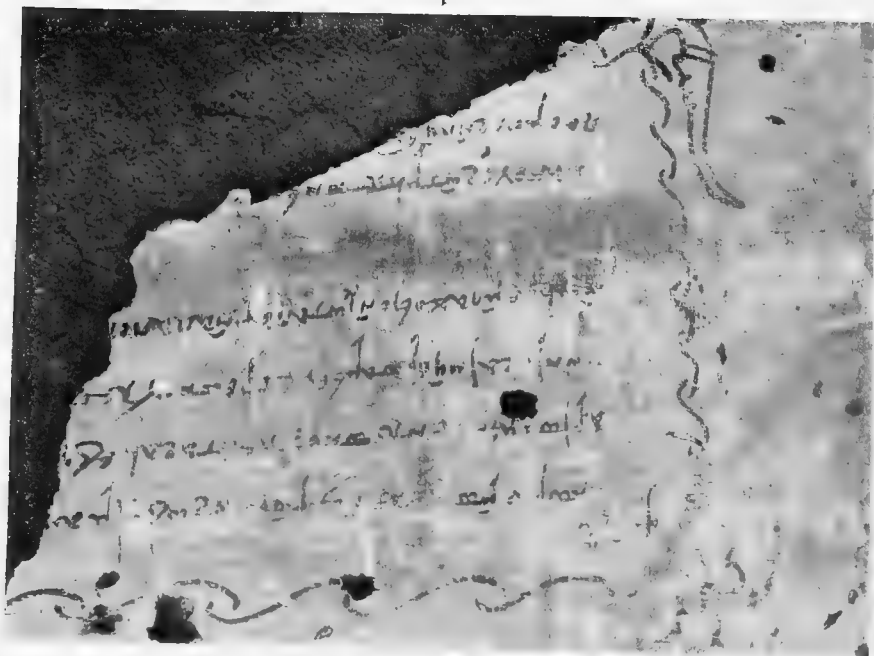


4

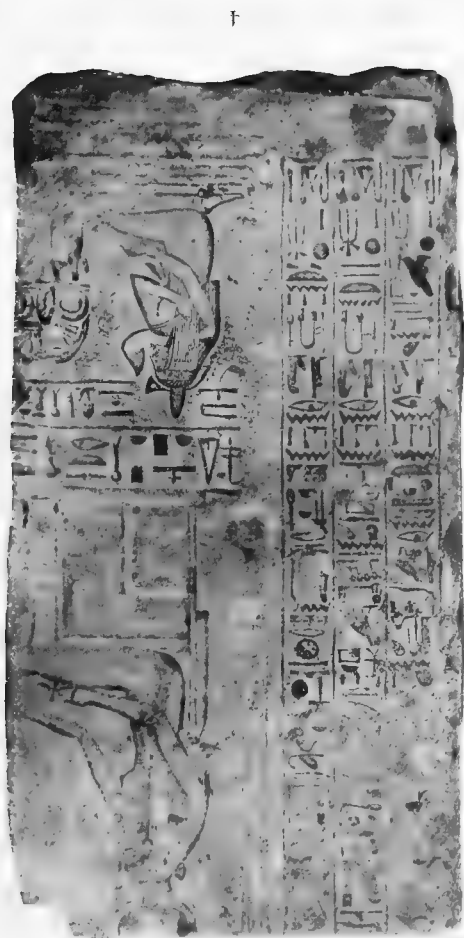


5

















TEMPLE OF TETI PYRAMID.

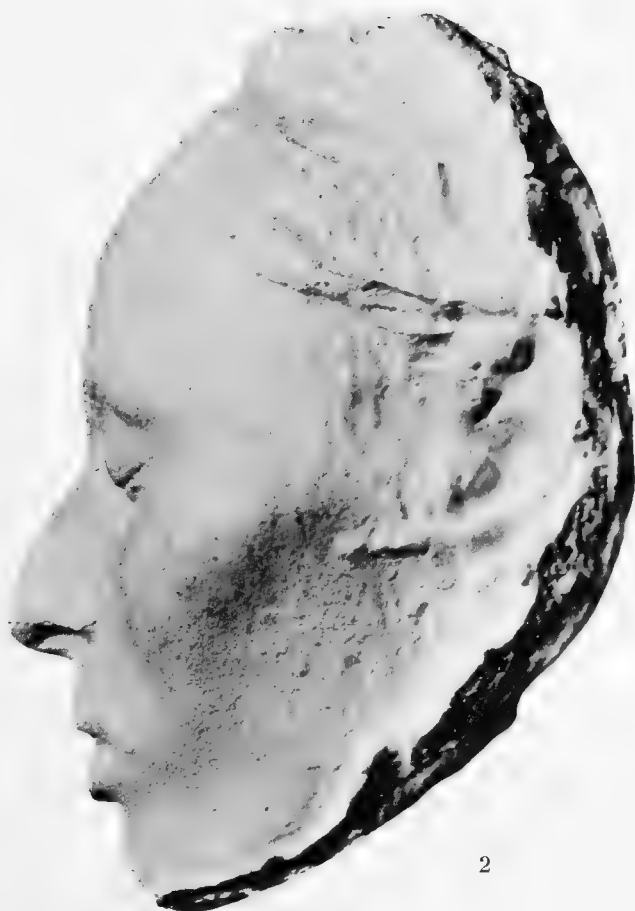








1

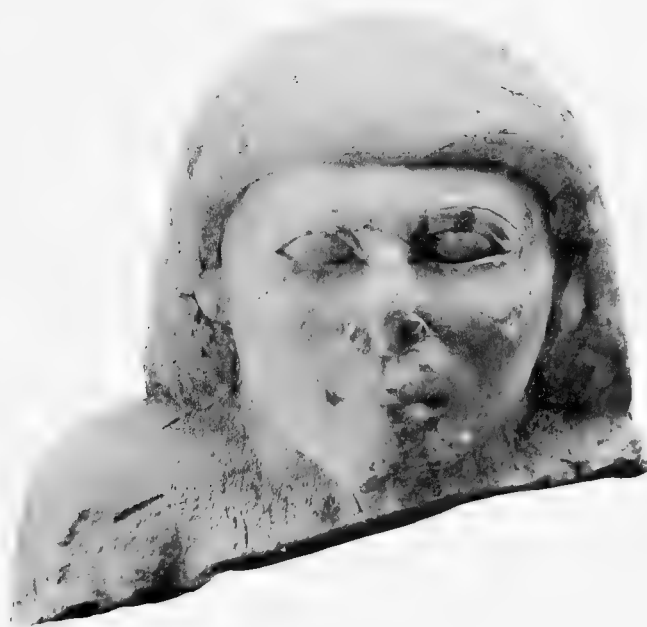


2



3









1



2



3



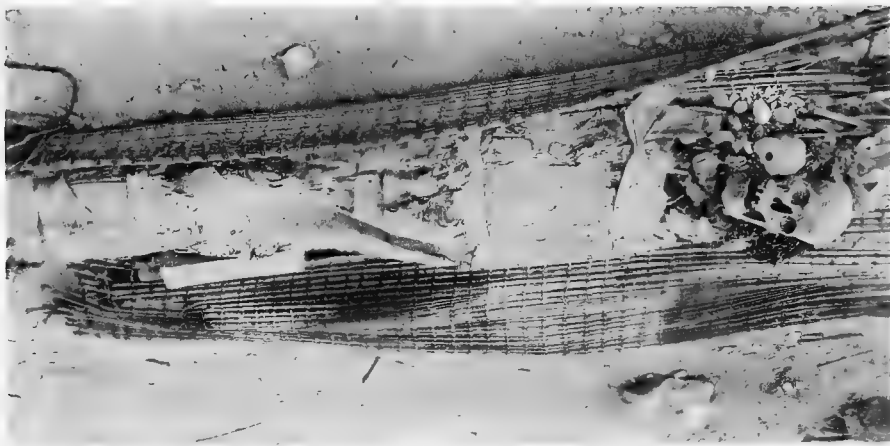
5







1



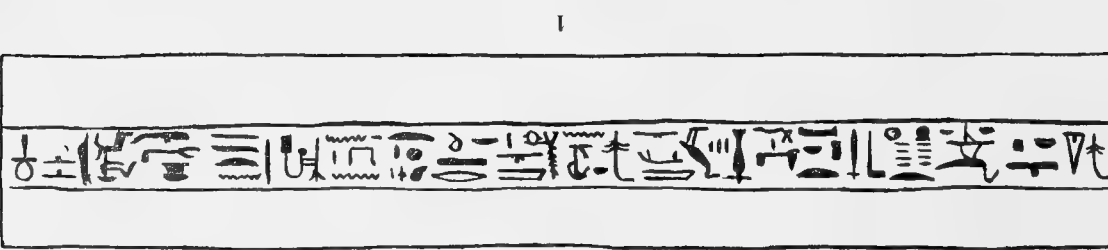
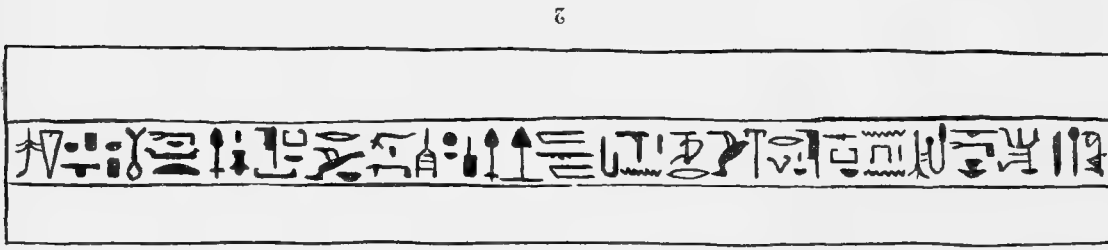
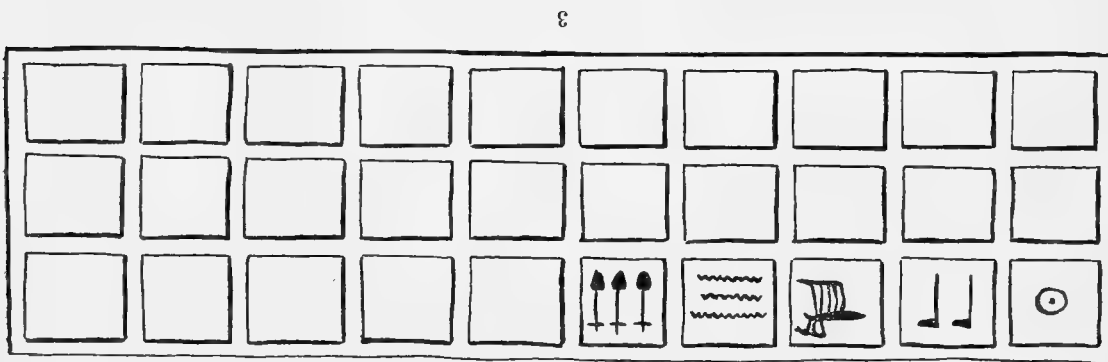
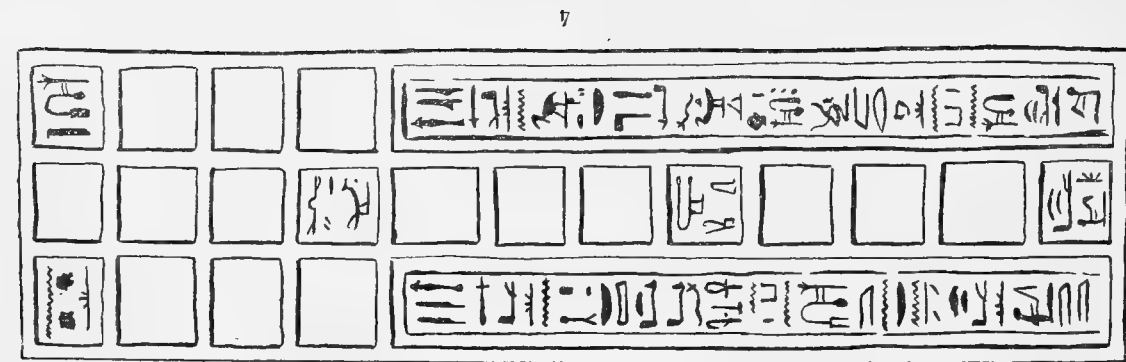
2



3

4









1

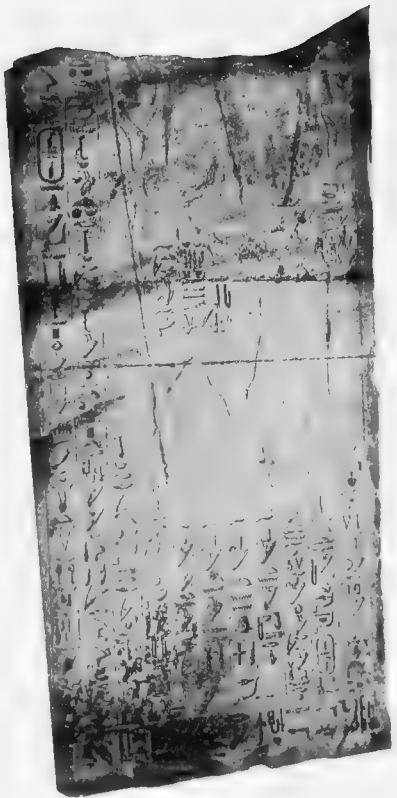


2





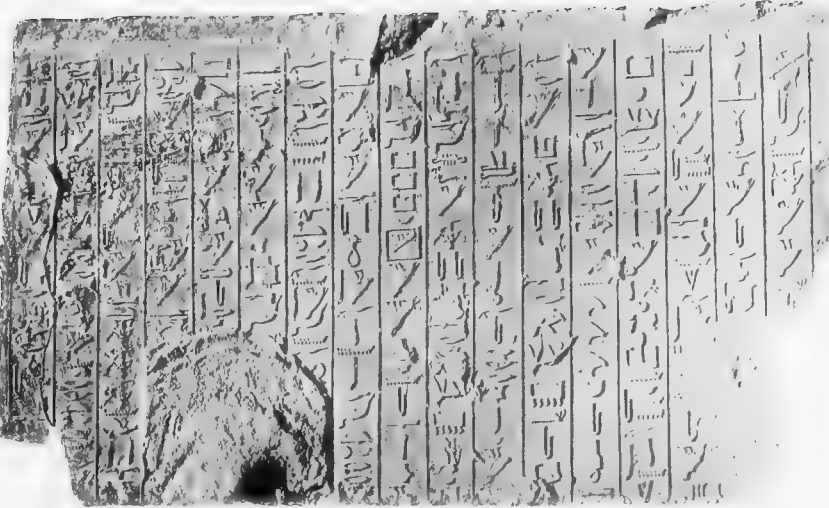
1



2

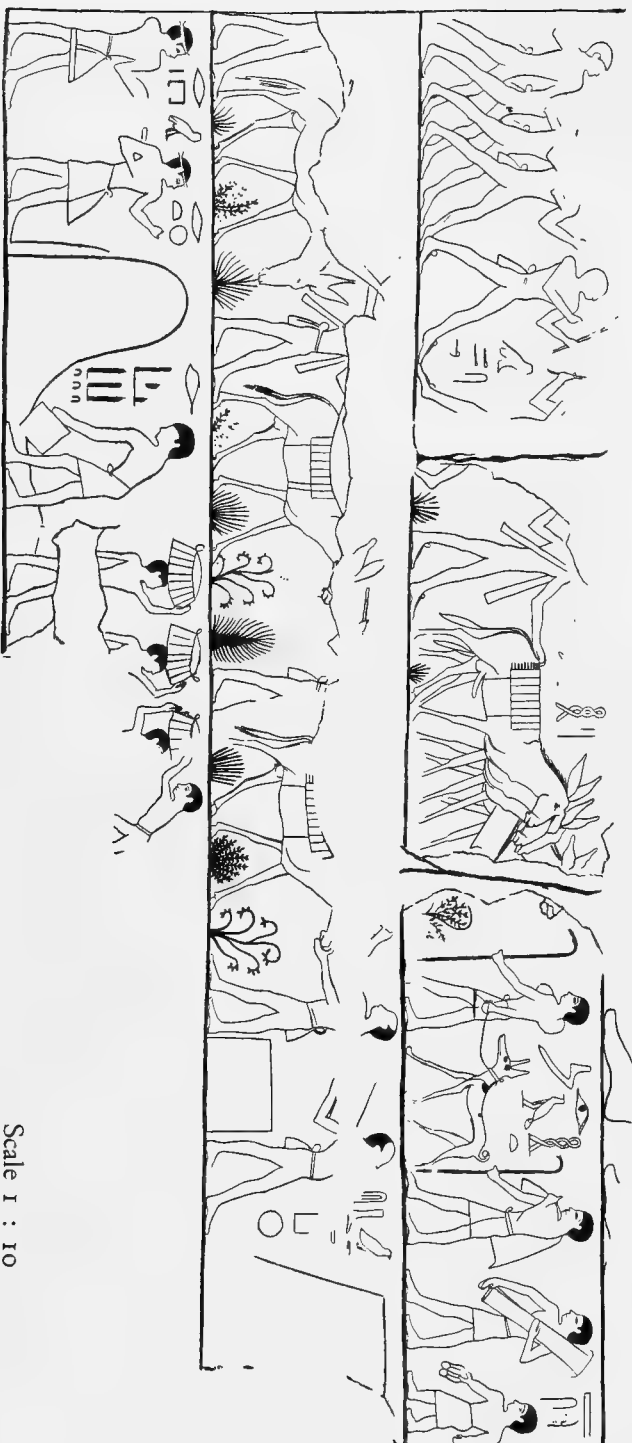
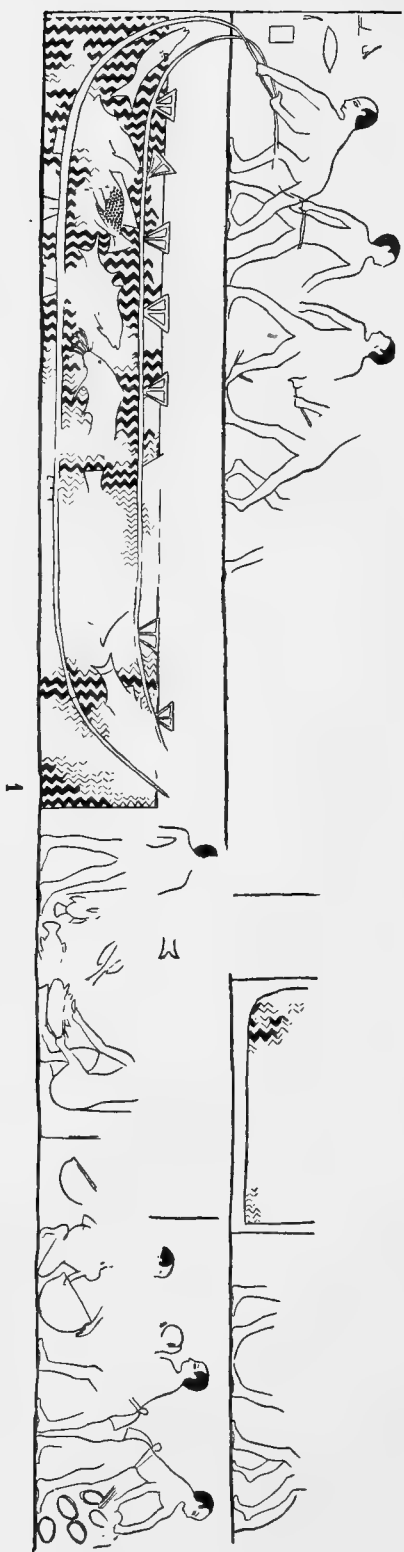


3



4





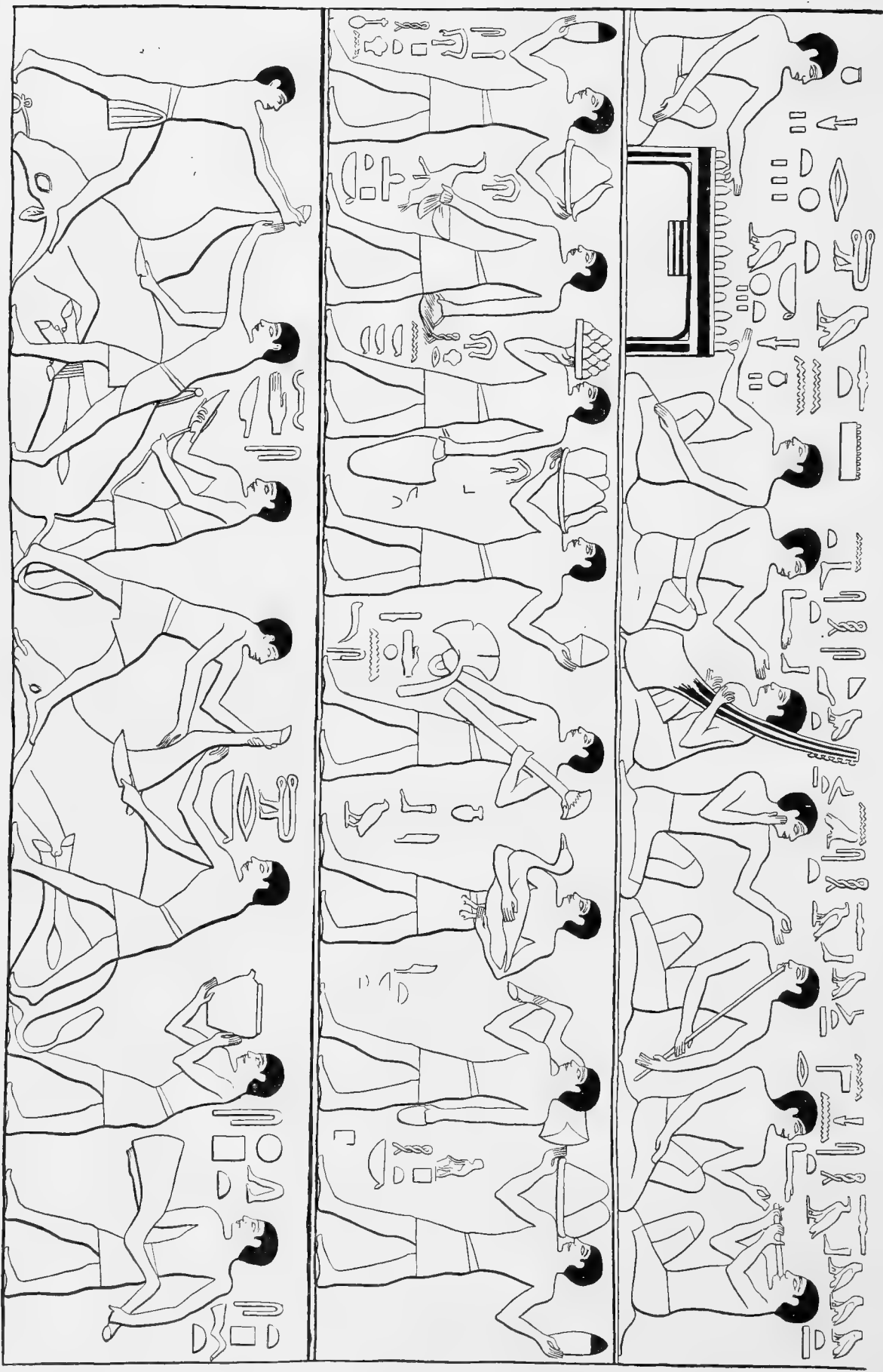
Scale 1 : 10

2











Scale 1 : 10

